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LL Jewitt F S A

While Stanley's life-like face you scan,
You recognize the King of Man:
But learn his death from History's pen,
And then you see the King of Men.

REMAINS

HISTORICAL & LITERARY

CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

PUBLISHED BY

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VOL. LXVI.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXVII.

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THE

STANLEY PAPERS.

PART III.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXVII.

PRIVATE DEVOTIONS

AND

MISCELLANIES

OF

JAMES SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY, K.G.

WITH A

PREFATORY MEMOIR

AND AN

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

THE REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.,

HONORARY CANON OF MANCHESTER; VICAR OF MILNROW;

AND RURAL DEAN.

VOL. 1.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXVII.

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NOTICE.

THE Editor begs to offer, on behalf of the Council of the CHETHAM SOCIETY, their grateful acknowledgments to the Earl of DERBY, K.G., one of its earliest patrons, not only for placing at their disposal the Manuscripts of his collateral ancestor, James the seventh earl, here printed, but also for having liberally permitted the Editor of these Papers to consult and use other valuable Manuscripts now deposited in the extensive library at Knowsley, bearing upon the life and times of Earl James. He has also to express the obligations of the Council to Lord DERBY for allowing the several portraits, which illustrate these volumes, to be engraved from the original pictures in his lordship's collection: nor can the Editor omit recording his high and grateful sense of the undeviating courtesy which he has received from the distinguished representative of the house and guardian

of the honour of the "Martyr Earl of Derby," and of the considerate promptitude with which various enquiries have always been met.

The best thanks of the Council, and especially of the Vice-President, are due to the Rev. George Hornby, M.A., senior fellow of Brasenose college, Oxford, for several interesting communications connected with the noble subject of the following Memoirs, and also for his liberality in presenting the portraits of the Dowager Countess of Derby and Bishop Rutter, which are now engraved for the first time.

To John Kershaw, Esq., of Audenshaw, thanks are offered for the fine engraving of Vandyke's portrait of Earl James; also to the Rev. Dr. Cotton and the Fellows of Worcester college, Oxford; to His Grace the Duke of Athole; and to the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A., rector of Tretire, Ross, Herefordshire, for the loan of several precious volumes in the handwriting of the earl, now in their respective possession: to W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary to the Camden Society; the Rev. Canon Birch, B.D., rector of Prestwich; Miss ffarington, of Worden hall; Mrs. Ainsworth,

of Smithills hall; Chas. S. Simms, Esq.; and John Young, Esq., the Editor is indebted for literary information and various useful assistance: but he wishes especially to acknowledge the numerous and invaluable suggestions which he has received, whilst the Memoir was passing through the press, from his learned and esteemed friend, James Crossley, Esq., F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, and the improvements which these volumes have derived from his obliging and constant revision.

F. R. R.

"We know him now: all narrow jealousies
Are silent: and we see him as he moved;
How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise,
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits, and how tenderly."

Tennyson.

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—— ix. *For* Palmont, *read* Talmont.
—— xii. Sir Dudley Carleton writing from the Hague to sir Isaac Wake, January 12th 1628–9, speaks of Mr. Edward Dacre as a kinsman of his (Carleton's) dear wife, then with God, and one in whom he had much confidence. Dacre afterwards became ambassador at Turin. (See Historical Preface to Carleton's *Letters*, p. xxxviii, 4to, 1757.)
—— xci. *For* Nicols's, *read* Nichols's.
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MEMOIRS OF JAMES SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY, K.G.

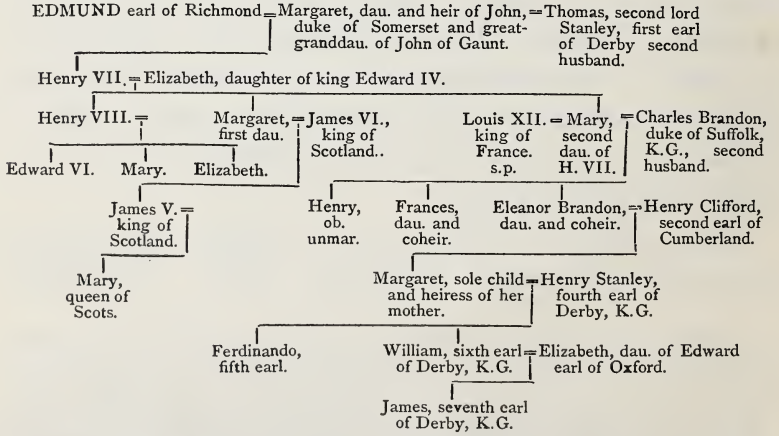
THE MARTYR EARL OF DERBY — as he is popularly called in all parts of Lancashire, and I have no wish to gainsay his title — is one of those great historical characters too well known and too reverentially regarded to need more than an outline of his biography here; but there are some threads in his personal story which deserve more attention than they have hitherto received, and he has himself, unwittingly, furnished almost autobiographical materials for the study in his numerous inedited manuscripts. These were the calm productions of his closet leisure, and are full of incidental references to himself and his family, as well as to public and private affairs.

James Stanley, seventh earl of Derby, was born at Knowsley on the 31st of January 1606-7.[1] His father,

[1] *Diary*, p. 3. His father had been married upwards of ten years before his (earl James's) birth, as on the 5th Feb. 1594-5, "Thomas Gossen entered for his copie and a ballad entitled, *A Lancashire Man's Joye for the late Marriage of the Right Honorable the Erle of Darbie.*" *Register of the Stationer's Company.* This was written on the marriage of William earl of Derby, brother of Ferdinando, with the earl of Oxford's daughter. *Notes and Queries*, Jan, 24, 1863.

William the sixth earl, the great grandson of Mary the daughter of king Henry VII.,[2] was the head of a family which descended, according to the heralds,[3] from a younger son of a Saxon family, who migrated from Staffordshire to Cheshire, and whose grandson, Sir John Stanley, Edward the Third's lord-lieutenant of Ireland, acquired the highest position in the hundred of West Derby by an alliance in the fourteenth century with the heiress of Sir Thomas de Lathom, a family which had been amongst the earliest of the Norman settlers, and whose crest (still borne by their noble descendants) formed the subject of one of the romantic legends of the middle ages. Earl James represented the ancient blood of Lathom, Fitz Alan, Neville, Strange, Wood-

[2] The following concise sketch will show the descent from Henry VII's father to earl James:



[3] Flower's *Visit.* A.D. 1567 ; Dugdale's *Baron.* vol. ii. p. 248 ; Ped. Baines's *Lanc.* vol. iv. ; MS. Ped. at Knowsley, by Edward 13th earl of Derby K.G.

ville, Hastings, Howard, Clifford, Brandon, Cecil and De Vere, and through several of these connections stood allied, not remotely, to the crown. He also claimed kindred with the Lancasters, Plantagenets, Tudors and Stuarts, and the claim was allowed by the court and kingdom.

His mother, the lady Elizabeth Vere, was the eldest daughter of Edward, seventeenth earl of Oxford, hereditary great-chamberlain of England (by Anne his wife, daughter of the lord treasurer Burghley), and coheiress of her distinguished brother Henry, the eighteenth earl of Oxford. Her son James appears to have entertained towards her a passionate affection, and when reverting to her maternal training and the permanent effects which it had produced, dwells upon her character and conduct with honourable pride. He describes her as of "blessed memory," a wise woman, well acquainted with the court,[4] yet thoroughly devoted to her family duties; and he regarded it as one great happiness of heaven that he should meet and know his parents there.[5]

His father had been a great traveller, and had passed much of the early part of his life in foreign countries. Some of the events of his chequered career are celebrated in ballads of the time,[6] but perhaps, from more trustworthy authority, it may be inferred that he was an unambitious man, and that advantage had been taken of his absence

[4] Lord Derby's *History of the Isle of Man*, p. 29; *Stanley Papers*, pt. i. p. 43.

[5] *Priv. Devot.* p. 25.

[6] See "Sir William Stanley's *Garland*," and *Stanley Papers*, pt. i. p. 47.

from England to deprive him of some parts of his great inheritance. Although he vindicated and secured his more important rights, he was unhappily involved for many years in almost ruinous litigation, on intricate and complicated points of law, with the coheiresses of his deceased brother, earl Ferdinando; and he must have contemplated with keen interest year after year the curious spectacle of law, politics and human nature combined, as it was evolved in the various judicial encounters of the watchful Coke with the subtle and interested Ellesmere. In the various suits he lost five ancient baronies and the reguardant estates, which became vested in his brother's coheiresses, and were confirmed to them by act of parliament in the 4th of James the First.

Of his three sons, James, lord Strange, was the eldest, of whose youthful days little is known. There is a tradition that he had been at school near Bolton, but he more probably received his early education in comparative seclusion at his ancestral home, and his maturer studies are said to have been pursued at Oxford,[7] although I have failed in my attempt to discover his college. One of his two classical tutors in the country was of that university, and the other of Cambridge. Not to name the schoolmasters of illustrious men has been rightly called by Dr. Johnson "a kind of historical fraud by which honest fame is unjustly diminished," and it may therefore be recorded that William, earl of Derby, on the 23rd day of August 1622, presented to the rectory of Bury, George Murray B.D.[8]

[7] Brown's *History of Bolton-le-Moors*, p. 202, 8vo, 1824.

[8] *Fasti Mancun.* MS. *voce* Murray.

of King's college, Cambridge, who is described as being at that time "Tutor to James, lord Strange, and living at Lathom;" and he was forthwith instituted to the benefice by bishop Bridgeman.[9] This incumbent, who at one time resided upon his country living, and died in possession of it, having also a stall in Lichfield cathedral, was the brother of the Rev. Sir Richard Murray bart., warden of Manchester and rector of Stockport. The Rev. Charles Herle M.A., of Exeter college, Oxford, who had also been his tutor, was promoted in the year 1626, according to a family arrangement, to the rectory of Winwick, on the nomination of Sir Edward Stanley of Winwick knt., by permission of his cousin William, earl of Derby K.G.[10] Although Herle changed his hierarchical principles during the war, his old pupil still entertained great regard for him, and the personal affection was mutual.

In after life lord Strange attributed some mistakes that he had committed to the want of "good instruction" in his youth,[11] but the remark appears rather to refer to the absence of opportunities of cultivating general society, and of acquiring worldly knowledge and an acquaintance with matters of business, than any deficiency of elementary or religious training. It ought not to be forgotten that at a subsequent period, when the Church was "persecuted but not forsaken," he reverted with melancholy pleasure to his earlier and happier days, and devoutly thanked God for his holy baptism, for his education in the Christian religion, and

[9] *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxii. p. 72.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 72.

[11] Lord Derby's *History of the Isle of Man*, p. 32.

for the free use of God's holy Word and Sacraments in his island church,[12] at a time when they were not allowed to be taught and celebrated elsewhere, as he had been carefully taught them in his youth. He had not forgotten the instructions of Murray and Herle, although when he wrote, the former had gone to his rest, and his successor, Dr. Peter Travers, was not permitted to maintain the English Church against the assaults of Puritanism at Bury, whilst the latter, no longer a Churchman, but one of the busy leaders of the Presbyterian body, was preaching Thanksgiving sermons before the Commons on their successes against the king, and exhorting them: "Do justice to the greatest; Saul's sons are not spared, no, nor Agag, nor Benhadad, though themselves kings."[13]

Whilst still a minor he was sent abroad to enjoy the advantages of travel, and to obtain a knowledge of the

[12] This was in 1644. See *Diary*, pp. 3, 35. On the 8th April 1645, Morton, bishop of Durham, a reverend man, was brought before the Commons for christening a child in the old way, and signing it with the sign of the cross, contrary to the directory. Whitelock's *Memor.* ed. 1732, p. 141. He was committed to the Tower by the Commons for contempt of their house. *Comm. Journ.* April 8, 1645. Mr. Browne, Mr. Solicitor and others were appointed to collect the substance of what the bishop answered touching the christening of the earl of Rutland's child by the Book of Common Prayer, that a conference may be had with the lords thereupon, and that a committee may be appointed to consider what is fit to be done with the bishop herein; as likewise with all such other persons as shall shew any contempt to the ordinance and directory for worship, or shall not obey or observe the same according to the injunction thereof. *Ibid.; Commun. Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* vol. iii.

[13] *Fast Sermon before the Commons, Nov.* 15, 1644, p. 37.

fashionable accomplishments of the period, as well as of foreign languages, which he afterwards regarded as an unnecessary loss of time.[14] The dangers attendant on continental manners frequently proved a snare to the inexperienced, and lord Derby, bishop Hall, and many others discountenanced the prevailing fashion, although the disfavour with which they viewed the Papal head, and the unquestioning submission required to his infallible authority, may not be overlooked in estimating the force of their objections. Lord Strange was of opinion that if a man travelled into a country before he had some entrance into the language, he might rather be said to go to school than to travel;[15] and he has also recorded, with considerable minuteness, the principal objects which ought to be seen by a young man in his continental travels.[16]

It is not to be doubted that his careful and solid education and home training in the first instance, and his subsequent knowledge of foreign governments and laws obtained from personal observation, combined to lay the foundation of and gradually to strengthen those great and essentially English principles, which were his guides through a noble public life, and which brought him peace and consolation at its end.

In 1625, whilst in his twentieth year, he was returned to

[14] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 33.

[15] *Oxford MS.* vol. xxxiv. p. 3, 4to, 1649; being a book of prayers, anecdotes, ejaculations, religious sentiments, enquiry into vulgar errors, &c. in MS. by James, earl of Derby, in the library of Worcester college, Oxford.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 2.

parliament for the borough of Liverpool,[17] where his family had wholly superseded the political influence of the Molineux's, and he was elected one of the knights of the bath the day before the coronation of Charles the First, on the 1st February 1625-6, standing second on the list, not as lord Strange, but as Sir James Stanley.[18]

His education and travels were not completed when he visited the court of Holland. Here he met his kinsman, Sir Edward Vere, Edward the third earl of Bedford, and also Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the Low Countries, who was shortly afterwards created viscount Dorchester. But he met still more important individuals in the royal circle. He was yet a minor, having just passed his nineteenth year, possessing a tall and graceful figure, regular and handsome features, a florid complexion, with a forehead probably capacious and lofty, but which is, in all his portraits, concealed by overhanging dark hair. It is worthy of note that he has recorded a saying of Lycurgus, that "long bushy hair made those that were naturally fair much pleasanter to look on, and those that were ill-favoured more grim, so that the one pleased their friends and the other terrified their enemies,"[19] which observation might not only be applied to himself personally, but could not fail to remind him of the "thick dark hair, and manly black

[17] State Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I.

[18] Courthope's *Synop. of the Peerage.*

[19] *MS. Observations;* also extracts from various authors by James, earl of Derby, 12mo, pp. 295, in the possession of the Rev. John Webb M.A., F.S.A., rector of Tretire, Ross, Herefordsh. p. 2.

complexion, like polished armour," of his great and illustrious relative, Strafford, whose rugged physiognomy and coarse hair did not escape the ill-natured sneers of his enemies. It may be mentioned, too, that like Strafford he had small and delicate hands, as his gloves, still remaining,[20] and also Vandyke's pencil, clearly prove. His handsome person, his agreeable manners, and his reputation for literary accomplishments attracted the attention of the court. He was well acquainted with the French and Italian languages,[21] was skilled in music and painting, and was probably aiming fastidiously, in an age of scholars, after a good English style; "writing," as he said, "so as to read afterwards his writings," and which, from his various remaining papers, seems to have been his early as it was his continued practice.

In the train of her royal relative Henrietta Maria, married in the preceding year to Charles the First, had come to the English court the dowager duchess of Tremoille, and probably some of her family. She was Charlotte Brabantina, third daughter of William of Nassau, first prince of Orange, and one of the coheiresses of her mother, Charlotte de Bourbon, of the royal house of Montpensier.[22] She had married Claude de la Tremoille, duke of Thouars, prince of Palmont and a peer of France, and was at this time a richly dowered widow. It may not be assuming too much to suppose that a matrimonial alliance was con-

[20] See note *post*.

[21] *MS. Observations*, pp. 2, 3.

[22] See Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. iii. p. 473.

templated by the court, between the young lord Strange and the youthful daughter of the duchess, born in the same year as himself, distinguished for her domestic virtues and fine qualities of character, and remarkable for her attachment to the reformed religion, in the strict tenets of which she had been educated, — her uncle, the duke de Bouillon, being the head of the Protestant party in France, and the most trusty servant of Henry IV.[23] The lady Charlotte de la Tremoille found that on all important subjects lord Strange's views were essentially similar to her own. She also found that he was not influenced by the temptations of rank and wealth, and that such was the energy of his determination when he discovered that his suit was accepted that he was prepared to surmount whatever obstacles might present themselves in his efforts to secure her as his wife. He met with a powerful advocate in his kinswoman Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, the unfortunate daughter of James I., who had been indebted for her husband, Frederick the Elector Palatine, to the able negotiations of his uncle and guardian Henri de la Tour d' Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, and duc de Bouillon, who had first married the heiress of the independent sovereignty of Sedan, and, at her death, had espoused the sister of the duchess de la Tremoille.[24] It has been stated, perhaps without sufficient evidence, that the countess of

[23] Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Eliot Warburton both erroneously state that she was a Roman catholic. See *Peveril of the Peak* and *Rupert and the Cavaliers.*

[24] Letters to the Tremoille family. *Archæol.* vol. xxxix. part i. p. 143.

Derby gave her son, lord Strange, to the queen of Bohemia to dispose of as she pleased,[25] and that being somewhat of a match-maker her majesty united him to her cousin, the young and only daughter of her aunt, the duchess de la Tremoille. It is certain that the queen of Bohemia was strongly attached to the duchess, and sought in many ways to promote her interests, and as the queen was addicted to letter-writing, various members of the Tremoille family were amongst her friendly correspondents. On the 29th July 1624, her majesty begged that the young lady Charlotte would represent her as a sponsor at the christening of a young de la Tremoille; and the lady Charlotte addressed a letter of condolence to the queen in 1625, on the death of her father, James I., which elicited a letter in reply from her majesty.[26] It is clear that with such influ-

[25] Mrs. M. A. Everett Green's *Princesses of England*, vol. v. p. 456.

[26] *Archæol.* vol. xxxix. p. 167.

Mademoiselle de la Tremoille to Elizabeth queen of Bohemia.

Madame,—I trust your Majesty will do me the honour to believe that in all the world there is no one more touched than myself by the affliction with which it has pleased God to visit you; and I hope that my writing to you on the subject will not be unpleasing to you. It troubles me much, madame, that I can do nothing to lighten your Majesty's suffering, but I pray God to send you the consolations which He knows to be necessary for you, and to give me the happiness to be honoured with your commands, so that I may be able, by every kind of obedience and humble service to show that I have nothing more at heart than to be, &c., &c.

Elizabeth queen of Bohemia to Mademoiselle de la Tremoille.

My Cousin.—You show very strongly the goodness of your nature by your sympathy with my loss, which has been very great, and my suffering not less. The kind feeling which you manifest obliges me to

ences in his favour his suit could hardly fail to prosper. Lord Strange discovered, however, that he had to repel a rival. The young lady had attracted the notice and won the admiration of another English gentleman, at that time in Holland, and nearly connected with the ambassador; and if he was a younger son of Henry, twelfth lord Dacre of the south — which is probable — his royal descent from John of Gaunt through the Neviles, earls of Westmoreland, might at least justify his aspiring to so great an alliance. The mother does not appear to have been altogether unfavourable to this suitor. Writing to England from the Hague, 15th April 1626, Sir Dudley Carleton informs his correspondent (probably the duke of Buckingham):

The malitious man Sir E^d^ Vere, having some credit wth the countesse of Darby, unto whome he is base brother (I am told), doth what he can to hinder my cousin Dacres being wth Mademoiselle de la Tremouille; the duchesse going her self into England saith that when she is there, yf Madame de Darbie do not oppose my cousens coming to her daughter she shall be very well contented, so that still that matter sticks as it did, and unlesse it be made sure with the countesse of Darby all is nothing that hath bin done or sayd. The information of Sir E. V. I am bounde to keepe as a secret, but notwithstanding may not conceale to y^r^

love and cherish you as I do so much; and I lament greatly the loss you have sustained by the death of your uncle, the good prince of Orange, which has quickly followed that of the king, my father. I cannot doubt how greatly you regret him, and I as much, having always loved him like a father. But I will say no more on so sad a subject, and conclude by assuring you that I am, now and ever, your very affectionate cousin,

De la Haye, May 17 1625. ELIZABETH.

Lordship. Thus in great haste I humbly kisse yor L^{ps} hands, and rest, &c.[27]

This rivalship, as well as the ardour of lord Strange's affection, was apparently the circumstance which made it considered desirable by his friends that his union with the wealthy and high-born lady, should take place as quickly as possible, and the unanimity of the various crowned and royal personages on this occasion significantly reflected the feelings of the English as well as the Bohemian court. The marriage was delayed, says Mons. Belli, the Italian traveller, who was present at the Hague, on account of the "settlement," which was not legally executed until after the solemnization of the nuptials; and also, adds Belli, "because the duchess mother would not, on any terms, consent to the marriage, in consequence of an article of the English law, by which, on the death of the husband, the marriage portion of the wife is given up to the relatives of the deceased.[28] The arrangement required to obviate this objection was doubtless impeded owing to the minority of lord Strange, and also to the difficulty in the way of charging lands already closely entailed and strictly settled by parliament. But ultimately by a writing at the Hague, "bearing date the 4th July 1626," a contract of marriage was concluded and agreed between lord Strange and the lady Charlotte his (now) wife, by the name of "the most illustrious princess damsel Charlotte of

[27] State Pap. Holland, 181-96.

[28] *Le Osservazioni di François Belli ne' suoi viaggi d' Orlanda et di Francia, Venise*, p. 107, 1632, 4to.

Tremouille, daughter of the most high and mighty prince lord Claude of Tremouille, duke of Towars, peer of France, prince of Talmounte, earl of Smens, Bevon, Taillebourgh, &c., and of the high and illustrious princess the lady Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, princess of Orange, duchess dowager of Tremouille and of Towars, in the presence of the most gracious king and queen of Bohemia, by the mediation, and by and with the consent of the earl of Derby and of the lady Elizabeth countess of Derby assisted by the advice of Sir Robert Stanley knight of the honourable order of the Bath, and Sir Francis Nedersall knight, by commission and mandate of the said lord and lady Derby, and the said damsel of Tremouille with the goodwill, leave, and consent of the said lady the duchess, her mother, and with the approbation of the now duke of Tremouille, her eldest brother, and with the consent of the most high and mighty prince, lord Frederick Henry prince of Orange, count of Nassau, &c., governor and admiral-general of the united provinces of the Low Countries, her uncle, and of the high and illustrious princess the lady Emilie countess of Salmis [Solms], princess of Orange, wife to his excellency, and of the lord Frederick Maurice de la Toure, duke of Bouillon, chief prince of Zedan and Rancourt, her cousin-german, and with the consent and leave of the kings their sovereigns." [29]

The marriage, which was distinguished by its magnifi-

[29] Close Roll, pt. xxxviii., 5 Car. I. No. 20. The duc de Bouillon, her uncle, died in 1623.

cence, was solemnized in a palace of the prince of Orange at the Hague in the presence of the king and queen of Bohemia, and "many royal and noble personages" on the "26th day of June 1626,"[30] and the following is Belli's account of the proceedings:

During the period of our residence at the Hague the nuptials of lord Derby [del conte d' Arbi] with mademoiselle de la Tremoglia were commenced and concluded with a splendour which became the rank of the lady, a daughter and the sister of the prince of Orange. The banquet followed in the evening, after which, at a magnificent ball, there was an eager curiosity to see the trousseau of the bride (which is a custom here), in virtue of which each person takes some pretty trifle prepared for such a conclusion. If, however, some availed themselves of this privilege, not for taking but for touching, I would not suggest reasons too subtle, suffice it to say that the poor lady was surrounded, handled, and smelt at as if she had been one of the first melons of the season.[31]

The marriage festivities were unhappily disturbed by the contests for precedence between the English and French ambassadors, both of whose signatures were required; which contests were renewed more seriously at the sport of running at the ring, prepared by the queen of Bohemia for the entertainment of the guests.[32]

Father Cyprian, writing shortly afterwards says: "The duchess de la Tremaille is just come [to London] with

[30] *Diary*, p. 4. Mrs. Everett Green says, "on July 5th," which is an error. Earl William, his father, was also married on the 26th June [1594].

[31] *Le Osservazion. di Fr. Belli*, p. 95.

[32] Sir Robert Carr to Carleton, Oct. 22, 1626. Green's *Princesses*, vol. v.

her daughter, married lately to lord Strange. She hath down upon the nail £24,000, he making her but £2,000 a year joynture," such being the popular opinion of the day, which was somewhat inaccurate. King Charles I. granted letters of denization to lady Strange on the 6th September 1626,[33] and she and her youthful husband were received at court with great honour. Conscious of the insufficiency of the dower assigned to his wife, lord Strange, shortly after attaining his majority, settled by indenture, in June 1628,[34] further estates then in his power, for its augmentation; and afterwards, in March 1629,[35] by a third indenture increased the amount of the jointure, and on the 17th June 1629,[36] still larger and more ample dower was secured by him, in case of his death, for the benefit of lady Strange; so that the settlement was worthy of the royal descent of this great woman, and of her husband's prospective sovereignty, as the tenth Stanley king of the Isle of Man, which, with all its feudal prerogatives, was strictly hereditary.

It was, doubtless, in reference to his own marriage, and notwithstanding the mature and well-tried affection of his admirable wife, that in after years he advised his eldest son, if his estate was good, to match near home, and at leisure; but if weak or encumbered, then to marry afar off, and quickly.[37]

[33] State Pap. Append. Car. I.

[34] Chancery Roll. [35] Ibid. [36] Ibid.

[37] Seacome's *History of the House of Stanley*, 8vo, p. 360. Preston, 1793.

There is in the library at Knowsley a quarto manuscript volume, written on vellum, in French and Latin, and richly emblazoned with arms by the heralds, containing an elaborate genealogical history of the royal and noble ancestors of lord and lady Strange. It appears to have been prepared with great care about the time of the marriage, and it is obvious that the young nobleman was not without pride in the regal parts both of his own and his wife's pedigree; the evidences of which, in after years, Dugdale, when at Knowsley, delighted to contemplate.[38] Towards the close of his life, addressing his wife, he said, "I acknowledge the great goodness of God in having given me such a wife as you—so great an honour to my family—so excellent a companion to me—so pious—so much of all that can be said of good—I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof."[39]

[38] The arms used by lord Strange, after his marriage, and found on most of his letters and official documents throughout his life, were Stanley and quarterings, impaling Tremoille and quarterings. The Stanley quarterings: 1 Stanley; 2 Man; 3 Brandon; 4 Vere. The others in the sinister impalement: 1 Tremoille, or, a chevron gules between three eagles displayed, beaked and membered gules; 2 France, azure, three fleurs-de-lis, or; 3 Bourbon, France as before, with a baton gules; 4 Milan; argent, a serpent erect swallowing a child. The shield is ensigned with two coronets; that over the earl's arms being an earl's coronet: the other over the countess's being a coronet of her father's dignity, it is presumed, of a peer of France. In the scarce French work, *Armorial Universel*, Paris, 1654, the arms are arranged thus: 1 Stanley, 2 Latham, 3 Isle of Man, 4 Strange; impaling 1 Tremoille, 2 France, with bar of bastardy, 3 Visconti, 4 France with a label. Dugdale seems to have been frequently a guest at Knowsley both before and after the death of earl James.

[39] Seacome's *History*, p. 346.

Shortly after his marriage his mother died, and was buried in St. Nicholas' chapel within Westminster abbey,[40] March 11th 1626-7, aged 51, and his father, at that time,[41] having arrived at the grand climacteric, growing infirm, being disconsolate, and seeking his happiness in retirement from busy conflict with the world, and the almost royal splendour in which his family had lived, relinquished his great power and greater estate to his son, whose quick discernment and habits of business well qualified him for the exercise of the one, and the management of the other.[42] During the winter the earl lived at Chester, but Bidston hall, near Liverpool, was his principal residence. This house built by himself during his unhappy litigation with his nieces, though less in extent than some other seats of his lordship, was, after the loss of his wife, his favourite summer abode.[43]

On the 27th September 1626 Buckingham informed the attorney-general (Heath) that the king had granted for life the lieutenancy of Cheshire and Lancashire to James lord Strange, in conjunction with his father.[44] On the 23rd October in the same year letters patent were issued granting the office of chamberlain of the county palatine of Chester to William earl of Derby (who had been constituted

[40] Nichols' *Collect.* vol. vii. p. 361.

[41] Seacome p. 180. Seacome says, "*Shortly* after the death of his wife," and adds "in the year 1637," which is probably an error of the press for 1627. See also *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 30.

[42] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 30.

[43] Webb's *Descr. of Wirral*, p. . 1615-16.

[44] State Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I., vol. xii. App.

chamberlain of the city for life by James the First in 1603), and James Stanley, lord Strange, his son and heir apparent, for their joint lives.[45] On the 7th March 1627-8 he was summoned to the house of lords, during his father's life-time, and took his seat as Sir James Stanley de Strange, chevalier,[46] and about this time the lieutenancy of North Wales[47] was added to his charge, an accumulation of honourable offices which seemed almost naturally to belong to him, and which probably could not have been so well filled by any other contemporary young nobleman.

After his marriage lord Strange lived in magnificent and princely style amidst the splendours of the court, and his accomplished wife and himself entered with great spirit into the masques, revels, and pageants so popular with the gay and fascinating Henrietta Maria, while his house in Cannon row was the resort of distinguished statesmen, foreigners, and scholars; his hospitality, like his fortune, being almost regal. He had paid some attention to the nature and peculiarities of the amusements which were rendered so fashionable by the artistic skill of Inigo Jones and the poetry of Ben Jonson and Marston, of Milton, Sir Aston Cokayne, and others, and he had critically studied the character which ought to distinguish masques, tournaments, the chase and banquets. It was his opinion that "masques and triumphs should be rather graced with elegance than daubed with cost, and that the voices in dialogues in the

[45] State Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I., vol. xii. App.

[46] Courthope's *Synop. of the Peerage.* [47] *Harington Papers*, p. 9.

former should be strong and manly — a bass and tenor, but not a treble;"[48] perhaps delicately intimating that satyrs, fauns, and the *lar familiaris* ought not to be personated by women, although his mother at one time had taken an active part in these picturesque and splendid exhibitions, and he himself, in 1630, had acted at court in Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, being one of fifteen lovers who ranged themselves "seven and seven on a side, with each a cupid before him, with a lighted torch." The king was in the centre. The seventh lover (the *Secure*) was acted by lord Strange, and the ninth (the *Substantial)* by his brother, sir Robert Stanley. In the same year and place the masque of *Chlorinda* was produced by the same great author, and lady Strange was one of the fourteen nymphs who sat round the queen in "the Bower."[49]

Although few men had more costly public banquets, his own conclusion was, that to render a party pleasant there should not be fewer than three, nor more than nine guests, according to the saying quoted by Aulus Gellius, that a feast should begin with the graces and end with the muses.[50] Such would not be the opinion of the generality of those whom he met at court, where some only of the best and many of the worst characters in the kingdom were assembled.

[48] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 23, being a common place book, and a book of Greek and Roman antiquities, by James lord Strange (afterwards earl of Derby), in the library of Worcester college, Oxon. 4to, 1645.

[49] Heywood's *Stanley Papers*, part i. pp. 43, 55. Jonson's Works, vol. viii. p. 93.

[50] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 259.

But in more important matters he had begun to find, after some experience of a courtier's life, that it was scarcely suited to his temperament, and that there was a hollowness accompanied by an insecurity in all its relations, which rendered the court an ungenial atmosphere for a man of his feelings, habits and principles.

It was one of the trials of his high position to discover that some members of the king's council entertained groundless suspicions of the loyalty of himself and his wife, and insinuated that he was influenced by ambitious designs of a personal nature hostile to the crown. The king had clearly paid too much attention to these envious and malicious slanders, and lord Strange thought himself, as Clarendon observes, "disobliged by the court."[51] It was probably at this time that he recorded that "Ephestion was said to love Alexander, and Craterus to love the king, and that among the servants of a prince some will love his person and others his crown,"[52] but it was lord Strange's boast, and he wished it to be put on record, that he loved both — and his loyalty was admitted to be "unquestionable."[53] Nor was it of gradual development, but something approaching to an hereditary instinct. He was always personally attached to the king, and he who could secure the devoted attachment of such a man as lord Strange was no despicable monarch.

On the 19th January 1627-8 his eldest son Charles Stanley was born, and Charles I., after whom he was named,

[51] *Hist. Rebell.* vol. iii. p. 411. 8vo.
[52] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 3.
[53] *Clarendon.*

honoured him by becoming one of his sponsors.[54] The queen of Bohemia mentioned the mother and "her little son Charles" with much affection when writing to the Duchess de la Tremoille from the Hague 19th May 1628.[55]

With the religious views and objects of the English queen lord Strange and his wife would have no sympathy, surrounded as she was by French priests, confessors, and Jesuits, and too much influenced by men like cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, the former of whom had just extinguished the reformed religion in France (1628).

Actuated by feelings of high and dignified independence he voluntarily, and perhaps not reluctantly, retired from the court in which he had "neither plotted nor dissembled," calling to mind, most probably, the lines of the satirist:

> A trance
> Like his who dreamt he saw Hell, did advance
> Itself o'er me: such men as he saw there
> I saw at court and worse and more.[56]

In his pleasant seclusion at Knowsley he writes: "From the time Scipio Africanus was accused by the tribunes he determined to go home to the country, far from all ambition and envy, and there, passing some years privately, he died about the age of four or five and fifty. He was wont to say, that he never was less idle than when he took his ease, nor less alone than when he was alone; and so saith J. Derby."[57] He was also of opinion that the private life

[54] *Diary, Priv. Devot.* p. 3; *Archæolog.* vol. xxxix. p. 170.
[55] *Archæol. ibid.* [56] Donne's *Fourth Satire.*
[57] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 220.

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of a great man discovered his character more than his public actions, for in the latter he more carefully framed his countenance, and was apt to counterfeit.[58] He names it as a fine feature in the conduct of one of his ancestors that he made the country his home, although not a stranger to the court,[59] and in the country, as an English landlord, devoting his time to such duties as fall to the lot of a country gentleman, he himself would be seen to the greatest advantage. He is found discharging his duties as custos rotulorum, acting as a magistrate, and meeting the judges on circuit at the assize town,[60] attending regularly to his official calls as high steward of the king's honor of Clitheroe and Tottington,[61] and identifying himself in various ways with all the interests of the Palatinate. So high was his reputation that many of the first and most distinguished houses in the county, feeling that he was raised above nobility, sent their eldest sons to learn chivalry in his magnificent households, as though they had been at court. He was served "after the French fashion" by the gentlemen of his train, who were attached to him from hereditary feelings and associations, many of their names having been on his rent rolls for centuries. According to Dugdale[62] he lived "in great state," and his "wonderful hospitality," for which some of his ancestors

[58] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 236.

[59] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 17.

[60] *Harington Papers*, p. 9.

[61] *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxi. p. 354. He held the office conjointly with Sir John Byron, K.B., in 1638.

[62] Peck's *Desid. Curiosa*, vol. ii. lib. xi. No. xii. p. 18.

had been famous, excited the notice and admiration of the country. He lived socially amongst his tenants, and was so good a landlord, that it was said his tenants thrived better on their tenements than he did on his freehold.[63] He promoted their welfare and provided for their comfort, and he has truly said, that he was happy in having the general approbation of his neighbours,[64] and that they were happy in serving him, as their forefathers had served his. He relieved the more arduous duties of his station by the cultivation of useful and elegant literature, and he found amusement and recreation in the classics, in Greek and Roman history, in theology and philosophy, of which he has left ample evidence in his common place books. As he had a well-stocked library at Knowsley,[65] he probably

[63] *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 186. His permission for the marriage of a tenant's son at Bury, addressed to "Mr. Morres," probably an agent, is characteristic of a considerate landlord: "I tould you in the Hunting Field that if James Greenhalgh has the consent of his Mother, who is named in the Lease, to marry the wench of whom I heard a good report, my Warrant was freely granted, as he appeared a toward youth and may assist ye wid^w^ in attending to ye Mill as well wth a wife as w^thout one, and marriage is hon^ble^ in all. Let Mr Murray or Mr Robert Greenhalgh examine the young couple before y^u^ Certifye my licens. Yours,

Knowsley, ye 15 Oct., 1632." STRANGE.

Indorsed — "My Lord's License." — The lease and other documents connected with it are in *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxi. pp. 340-1.

[64] *Hist. Isle Man*, p. 7.

[65] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 161. His library and pictures were seized by the parliamentary commissioners, and his widow recovered, in the year 1654, "five pictures and maps, in oil, without frames; 76 pictures in frames; 360 books of great volumes, and 570 books of lesser volumes." This is probably a rough estimate, but proves that the fine arts and

exhausted all the literature of his age, having been from early life a close student. Like sir Nicholas Bacon, he was not seldom found sitting in his gallery alone with the works of Quintilian[66] before him, and it is clear that the various works of the old lord keeper's more learned son, the Columbus of the philosophical world, were his familiar companions,[67] while sir Walter Raleigh's writings and troubles had been well pondered over by him.[68] Shakespere, Jonson, sir P. Sidney, and sir Thomas Brown were, as might have been expected, amongst his prime favourites.[69]

From a remark in another part of his great MS. volume of Greek and Roman history, there is no doubt that he had his own tastes and habits in view when he wrote that "Lucullus, the friend of Cicero and Pompey, delighted much in sumptuous buildings, books, pictures, gardens, feastings, and in learned men who had free access to him, in which no man exceeded him, nor was there greater talk of anything than of his noble housekeeping. One night, because he supped alone, the steward of his house made more slender provision than he was accustomed to make, at which he was angry, and said to him 'Knew you not that I was to sup with Lucullus to-night?' Learned men might walk in his

literature had been liberally patronized by him and his immediate predecessors. From the inventory of Laurence Owen, agent of the Commissioners for composition. — State Pap. Domestic, Inter-regn. 1-19-357.

[66] *MS. Observations;* also extracts from various authors by James earl of Derby, 12mo. p. 2.; *Priv. Devot.* p. 100.

[67] *Ibid.* p. 126; *Priv. Devot.* pp. 100-106.

[68] *Ibid.* p. 59. [69] *Ibid.* p. 143; *Priv. Devot.* pp. 107-108.

goodly terraces and there sit and reason together, and he was also himself often with them."[70] Again he writes, "Libraries are like shrines, where all the reliques of the ancient saints, full of virtue, and that without either delusion or imposture, are preserved and repose."[71] He also observes that "many times whilst others slept, Brutus was at his book, especially whilst writing a breviary of Polybius,"[72] and his reference to the blood which fell upon his own book at midnight will be noticed afterwards. He observed that "Cæsar Augustus recreated himself with learned men, amongst others with Titus Livius, the learned historian, and also with Virgil and Horace, the former being one of his most familiar friends. Ovid, it is like, had committed some heinous offence, being so long banished and unable to obtain grace, though the greatest men interceded for him."[73] And he has also recorded that "after the overthrow of Darius, the most precious thing found amongst the spoils was a little coffer, and that Alexander the Great asked his familiar friends what they thought the most fitting thing to put into it? Some said one thing and some another, but Alexander's

[70] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 109. Lord Strange's *MS. Observations* contains a Table made by him "of the Roman forenames, written with one Letter, with two Letters, and with three Letters."

[71] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[72] *Ibid*, p. 191. *MS. Observations*, pp. 266-273, where lord Strange has himself made many extracts from *Polibius Megalopolitane*, by Sr E. V. [ere ?]

[73] *Ibid*, p. 242; *MS. Observations*, where lord Strange has written seven pages, being an "Exposition of certain terms in Livy not yet enough familiar" to him.

opinion was in favour of Homer's Iliads — and was he not right?"[74]

Lord Strange, like many of his ancestors, was recognised by his contemporaries as a patron of literary men. In the year 1630, Roger Cocks dedicated to him his "Hebdomada Sacra; a Weeke's Devotion; or seven Poeticall Meditations upon the Second Chapter of St. Matthewe's Gospel," in the following strain:

> Poetry, noble lord, in these loose times
> Wherein men rather love than loath their crimes
> If hand in hand with piety she goe
> (Though without blushing she her face may show)
> Finds but cold welcome. Such things only take
> As flatter greatnesse, or fond fancie make
> A baud to base delight; yet graver eyes
> No sacred lines, though rudely drawne, despise; —
> And such are yours. Upon this worke of mine
> Vouchsafe to let them fall, or rather shine.
> With kind acceptance do but deign to grace it
> And envie shall want power to deface it.[75]

William Habington in his *Castara*, published in the year 1635, celebrating the personal charms of his wife Lucy Herbert, daughter of William, first lord Powis, and a kinswoman of the Stanleys, probably refers to lord Strange in the following line:

> Sometimes my swelling spirits I prepare
> To speake the mighty Percy, nearest heire
> In merit as in blood to Charles the great;
> Then Darbye's worth and greatness to repeat,

[74] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 137.
[75] Heywood's *Stanley Pap.*, part i. p. 56.

Or Morley's honour, or Monteagle's fame,
Whose valour lives eternis'd in his name.[76]

Herle, the rector of Winwick, before his defection, dedicated to lord Strange, in 1631, his *Contemplations and Devotions*,[77] in the following epistle:

My lord, — If I durst print a booke no question I durst not thinke of any other patron than your lordship, to whom, by all the engagements of preferment, favour, gratitude, duty, and domestick service, I stand so strictly obliged; to whom should the booke belong but to him to whom the author? — Your lordship hath both planted and watered. These meditations, my lord, were the expence of those weary houres, of that slow recovery, which (I must confess), next to God's, I had by your lordship's special care and furtherance, out of that my late long and hopeless sickness, so that it were a kind of theft to make tender to any other of the employment of those hours which I then but borrowed from your lordship's more publique service. Why I make not my epistle dedicatory, laudatory (to the custom), your lordship's resolved declination of such kind of cheap, hackney, fly-blowne fame, may be cause enough; such as are so happy as to know you, know well enough how little you need it, how less you love it, besides 'twould be thought (being a servant) I durst do no other. . . . . My object is the vindication of our religion from the common brand which her Romish adversaries so frequently upbraid her with, that she spends

[76] *Ibid*, p. 56; Chalmers' *Engl. Poets*, vol. vi. p. 464.

[77] "Contemplations and Devotions on the several Passages of our blessed Saviour's Death and Passion, Written by Charles Herle, Master in Arts, and sometimes of Excester college, in Oxford. 12mo. 1631. Dedicated to the right hon. James lord Strange, baron of Knocking, lord lieutenant of the counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester, and of the citie of Chester and county of the same, and chamberlain of Chester aforesaid; lord of the Isle of Man, knight of the hon. order of Bath; heire apparent to the right hon. William earl of Derby, his very loving lord and master."

all her devotion in the pulpit and keeps none for the closet; and also a probable anticipation by them of the world's entertainment of any my possible endeavours hereafter, which, whenever they shall, as these, together with their author, in all humility, be laid at your lordship's feet.

Another of the doctrinal rather than political Puritans, half Churchman, half Nonconformist, and domestic chaplain to lord Strange, and who it may therefore be inferred held no very extreme opinions, dedicated to him the carefully-written and interesting *Life of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford Esq.*, who was the very model of the old, well-born, and opulent English Churchman of his day. His biography had been prepared for the press about the year 1626, by the Rev. William Hinde,[78] fellow of Queen's college,

[78] The Rev. William Hinde was a resolute Puritan, but there is no mistaking that he was also, like his brother-in-law, Bruen, a stout-hearted churchman of the reformation type, and would be well known to lord Strange from the high office which his wife's father had held in the Knowsley household (see Assheton's *Journal, Introd.* p. xix. note 1). He was not a ritualist, disliked vigils, holydays, and Rome, and being refractory fell under the censure of bishop Morton, and I am sorry to add that bishop Bridgeman wounded his own reputation by prosecuting Hinde's poor widow, in the year 1630, for refusing to pay her husband's mortuary. (*Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxii. p. 304.) In addition to Bruen's Life, he published, according to his son, "many workes," the only one I have been able to discover being "The Office and Use of the Moral Law of God, in the Days of the Gospel, justified and explained at large, by Scripture, Fathers, and other orthodox Divines; by W. Hinde, preacher at Bunbury, in Cheshire, 4to, 1622." Dr. Samuel Hinde, the son, lived at Prescot, and was a man of scholastic attainments, but although he acknowledges his "many obligations," and was "a humble suppliant for patronage," to lord Strange, it has not been discovered that he held any church preferment in the diocese of Chester.

Oxford, minister of Bunbury, and brother-in-law of Bruen; but it was not published until 1641, and then by the author's son, Dr. Samuel Hinde, at the urgent request of Archbishop Usher.[79] In his dedication, the editor says:

The way amongst the ancient Romans to the Temple of Honour was through the Temple of Virtue, and it should be remembered in every house, as well as in Eli's, that those who honour God, God will honour them. And now who knoweth not, said Mordecay to Esther; nay, who knoweth not, my much honoured lord, that knoweth your lordship, that you have come to this height of honour, and have advanced your name and family; that you have, as the Prophet of Eliakim, "been for a glorious throne to the house of your fathers;" and all this and more than this, by the better and more excellent way of adding goodness to greatness, to highness holiness, by adding knowledge to your years, grace to your knowledge, practice to both; by building and beautifying God's house, who both hath and will build and beautify yours. . . . . I am a humble suppliant to your lordship for patronage, and to the Protector of Princes for his right and left-hand blessings, to be ever multiplied upon you and yours, that your house may long continue like Eliakim *velut paxillum in loco firmo,* that you may live in yourself, in your illustrious lady, your numerous and their honoured offspring, and in all that have relation to your lordship *in the direct line, or collateral,* to emulate and outstrip the best and bravest of your glorious ancestors, that succeeding ages may never close the annals of your princely family with a "*degeneremque Neoptolemum,*" but with that rather whereunto the Delphic Oracle honoured the king of Sparta, "*Ultimus heroum Cleomenes Astypalæus.*"

His time was thus employed in his retirement, to use an expression of Addison, in doings that make no figure in the

[79] See Epistle to the Reader.

world, and yet most profitably. And how often must the young nobleman have contrasted his lonely walks in the green lanes and amongst the familiar woods of Knowsley with the tumult and ceremony of Cannon Row, and the humble salutation of an old Bedesman from the Almonry at Lathom with the gay and gorgeous scenes which delighted Henrietta Maria at Whitehall.

Although lord Strange had no occasion to struggle on to opulence against his powerful court enemies, he was not unmindful of his own personal and family interests, and at this time Buckingham being the source of influence, the following letter dated Jan. 1627-8 was addressed by lord Strange to him, requesting his patronage:

My Lord,—Y^r^ graces former favours to my wife and me have encouraged me to become a suitor to you, that wheras his Matie is disforesting the forest of Delamour[80] in Cheshire, and that the most parte of the gentlemen of that country whoe having some interest in the same by reason of their inheritances have desired me to be a purchaser of the same, and I finding it free did by a servante of myne become a suitor to the Comissioners for a warrante and a perticuler of it. Y^r^ graces absence at that tyme was the cause I did repayre unto them, otherwise I had apealed to y^r^ self only. But now that I wholly rely upon y^r^ grace's favour

[80] A general inclosure of the Forest of Delamere was contemplated, but probably part of the plan was only put in execution. The Dones had been foresters and bowbearers of Delamere for 500 years, and Sir John Done wrote a singularly touching letter to the Commissioners of the Forests in 1626 on the intended alienation, which was plausibly designed "for his Majesty's service and advance of his profit," but which ended in nothing. The lands were disafforested by Act of Parliament in the year 1812. Ormerod's *Hist. of Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 52.

of my suite and doe noe wayes hinder or prejudice his Matie in the sale therof, I doubte not but y^r^ grace will help me in it (which I humbly beg of y^u^) because I am faithfully

Y^r^ graces most affectionate servant, in any thing you will comande me, J. STRANGE.[81]

Nor did lady Strange omit to use her greatness in furthering her husband's wish, but wrote from Knowsley, on the 17th August, to her old Hague friend "Mr. Carleton," not recognizing him by his new title viscount Dorchester, soliciting his favour with the Council. The following is a translation of the letter from the French in which it is written:

SIR,—I could not let slip so good and sure an opportunity without availing myself of it to return you thanks for your kind and obliging letter. From the goodness of your nature I anticipated the grief which you show, and from your virtue that you would turn to God in all your losses, losses which I lament with you, for you cannot have either good or evil without my feeling it, so that I share in every thing which touches you. I cannot then help taking a great part in your satisfaction with the good choice that you have made of so good and so virtuous a mistress, whereby you have the end of your ills, and in her person the beginning of your content. I cannot express to you the interest I feel, for I have always had an inclination for her and admired her conduct, which makes me believe that you two will live the happiest in the world. May it please God to hear my prayers and grant you happiness without end, as much happiness as I desire for myself, entreating that by your means I may have share in the good graces of her who has gained yours, and that you will both believe me to be, as I truly am,

Sir, your very humble and very attached Servant,

Knowsley 17 Augt 1628. CHARLOTE STRANGE.

[81] State Pap. Dom. Charles I. vol. xii. p. 91-99.

My husband desires to assure you of his very humble service, and wishes you all happiness. We both hope that you will honor us by your support in the Council in a matter respecting Delamere forest, for which we are very humbly your suitors. He feels equally with myself the obligation I am under for the great favour which you have shown to my brother De Laval, who, I am sure, will never be unmindful of it. I solicit its continuance to him, and beg you to believe that in obliging him you acquire three persons to your service, who will endeavour in every way humbly to return it.[82]

In the same year he turned his attention to the government of the Isle of Man, which had been relinquished to him by his father, and which had been much neglected during the lengthened suits already mentioned. A sort of territorial vassalage and bond service had always existed there, but which had been little felt by the natives under the paternal government of its hereditary feudal sovereigns. The customary tenants had committed various encroachments, violated their engagements, and created tenures before unknown to their lords, and not recognised by them. Many doubts had arisen and jealousies had been fomented, but the insular king who undertook to examine them was a

[82] Ibid, vol. xii. p. 91-99, in French. The letter itself refers to the second marriage of lord Dorchester, with Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Glenham knt., and widow of Paul viscount Bayning. The queen of Bohemia, writing to the duchess de la Tremoille from the Hague, 22nd September 1627, observes that Mons. Carleton seemed soon consoled after his wife's death. (*Archæol.* vol xxxix. p. 168.) She was Ann, daughter and co-heiress of George Gerard esq., second son of Sir William Gerard knt., of Dorney Court, county Bucks. Count de Laval mentioned in the postscript, married one of the many daughters of "William the Silent," prince of Orange.

shrewd, practical man of business, and, by his forbearance and liberality, the just rights of inheritance were conceded, the grievances of the tenantry generally redressed, extreme claims were modified, and a mutual regard appeared to be established. At this time his whole income from the island did not exceed £1,500 per annum, and he probably never received more. Christian, the lieutenant-governor, was not exactly the man to submit to control, nor yet to control others, and seems to have incurred the displeasure of other persons as well as of lord Strange. A few years after his lordship's visit to the Isle of Man and his regulation of its affairs, the lords of the Admiralty addressed the earl of Derby and lord Strange (11th Jan., 1633-4) in consequence of certain complaints having been made against captain Edward Christian, and they were required to take order for the captain's attendance before the Admiralty board on the 14th February. Lord Strange sent his servant, John Cason, with a letter to the governor on the 19th March, and wrote to the Admiralty on the 26th, stating that Christian was suffering from sickness, and apparently unable to obey the summons.[83] He was afterwards imprisoned and lost his office, but not before the Admiralty had confronted him and adjudicated upon his case, although an attempt has been made to asperse lord Strange's memory in connection with it, by imputing an excess of severity to him and an imperiousness foreign to his character.

[83] State Pap. Dom. Charles I., 688-65. See also *Hist. Isle of Man*, which probably refers to him, pp. 30-2-40.; *MS. Book of Statutes of the Isle of Man*, by James Christian. Fol., Knowsley Library.

The family of lady Strange from time to time visited Knowsley, and the proudest and greatest of the titled and untitled classes of various counties, assembled to do honour to the reflection of royalty, although it may be that many of them knew little of the doings of Bourbon and Nassau, of "William the Silent," and of the great admiral Coligny, or of the remarkable historical individuals who, on one occasion, passed before them "in Cow Lane," Chester, whilst the mayor and aldermen of that ancient corporation exhibited themselves on a stage, "in their best gowns and apparel," for the entertainment of these distinguished foreigners. On the 18th September, 1630:

There came to Chester, being on a Saturday, the Duchess of Tremoyle in France, and mother-in-law to the lord Strange, and many other great estates; and all the gentry of Cheshier, Flintshier, and Denbighshier, went to meet her at Hoole Heath, with the earl of Derby, being at least six hundred men; all the gentlemen of the artelery-yard, lately erected at Chester, met her in Cow Lane in very stately manner, all with great white and blew fithers, and went before her chariot to the bishop's pallas, and making a yard, let her threw the midest, and then gave her three volleys of shot, and so returned to their yard; also the maior and aldermen in their best gowns and aparel, were on a stage in the Eastgate Street to entertagn her.[84]

And shortly afterwards Mr. Tom Legh, writing from Cholmondeley to Sir Thomas Smyth, of Ashton in Somersetshire, wishing his kinsman to secure the friendly offices of lord Strange in some family misunderstandings, and expressing the highest confidence in his lordship, adds:

[84] *Harl. MS.*, No. 1923.

I have no news to send, but y^t^ there is a Prince come to Knowsley. They saie he is the Dewke of Tremulias' son and my Ladie Strange is his Aunt.[85]

[85] State Pap. Dom. Charles I. bund. 97 art. 14. One of his family addressed a letter in French, to the prince of Orange, of which the following English version may be given. What the incident was to which it refers, and who the member of the family inculpated, does not clearly appear. The writer of the letter was Louis Maurice de la Tremoille, second son of the duke and brother of lady Strange. On the 29th July 1624, the queen of Bohemia, writing to her aunt, the duchess de la Tremoille, requested that Mademoiselle Charlotte (afterwards lady Derby) might represent her as sponsor at his christening. Although he had so Protestant a sponsor, he was brought up a Roman Catholic, served in the army in Italy in 1642, afterwards entered holy orders, and died in 1681 abbé of Charroux and Ste. Croix de Tallemont. *Archæol.* vol. xxxix. p. 153. The autograph signature is written in one word, and the initial letters of the Christian name being a monogram, cannot be easily decyphered. They appear to be composed of the letters L. M. and ℵ. The original letter is in the possession of Mr. M. M. Holloway, London.

Monseigneur,—It is with an extreme regret that I feel myself obliged to write to your Highness, since I cannot do so without mentioning a thing which has caused me unimaginable annoyance, and which your Highness will, I feel sure, hardly be able to credit, since the procedure was so extraordinary that it was not to be anticipated even from an indifferent person, and still less from a man who was, it seems to me, bound to show himself to me so very different. I speak simply of the action without mention of the place in which it was committed, which should make it much more blameable, and in my opinion, inexcusable. I should be inexcusable, too, for having suffered it so patiently, if I had not been restrained by a strong consideration, namely, the respect in which I hold the commands of Monsieur your son, for whom I have had so much deference that I have placed all my satisfaction in obedience, nor demanded any satisfaction from him, whose conduct by its very extremity ought to shame him, and the bare thought of it ought to have been impossible

On the 16th December in the same year, the duke of Tremoille, nephew of lady Strange, was still at Knowsley;[86] and afterwards, on the 10th April, 1632, lady Strange and her brother, "with a great train," went on board the vessel of captain John Pennington, riding in Tilbury Hope, and were detained there by adverse gales, on their way to the Hague, and on the 26th of the same month, lord Strange, then at Derby House, wrote a courteous acknowledgment of the services of his "very loving friend" captain Pennington[87] on the occasion; who considered the letter to be of sufficient importance to be communicated to the court:

in the spot where it took place. I do not say this to your Highness to excite you more against him, knowing you too reasonable not to be well able to discriminate between mere impulsive actions and such as denote an ill-regulated mind. It is only right, Monseigneur, that you allow me to express to you here my resentment, since it is consideration for yourself which has prevented me from showing it in another manner. After all, I hope to draw from it this satisfaction, that you cannot but observe that there is nothing I have so much at heart as to follow your orders and those of Prince William. I should send to your Highness the details of the affair if I were not assured that others have written to you very fully, and among the rest my lord Strange. I cannot dwell longer on this subject without an increase of vexation, with which, as you see, is mingled a perfect obedience. This it is which I humbly entreat your Highness to believe, and that of all who profess to honour you, none does so more truly than I,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient nephew and servant,

From London the 4th May 1641. L. M. Delatremoille.

[86] State Pap. Dom. Ser., Car. I. vol. xii. 184-9.

[87] Afterwards admiral Sir John Pennington of Pennington, in Lancashire, and of Muncaster, in Cumberland, knt., on whom Charles I. principally relied in all his maritime proceedings.

CAPTAINE,—Till you sent me good newses I feared bad, for nor winde nor wether was favorable to you or your companie; but your care of them prevailed above any stormes, and I thanke Him that ruled ye raging of the sease for such a guide to them. And my wife in that letter which you sent me from her desires me againe to thanke you. This way I can-not enough doe it, only desire that you will hence-forwarde be assured of

A most affectionate frende to doe you all service in

STRANGE.[88]

The financial state of the national Exchequer was at this time as bad as it could be, and the king could get no money from the Parliament. Privy seals, subsidies, forced loans and other fruitless schemes adopted in succession, had failed to meet the exigencies of government, and on the 13th May 1631, the king addressed William earl of Derby, James lord Strange, and others, as commissioners of fines levied on individuals of a certain rank for not taking up knighthood at the coronation, several years past, and urging the commissioners to enforce the penalties.[89] This device, which had the appearance of unequal pressure upon a particular class, although feudal and obligatory knighthood was of remote antiquity, and connected with tenure, was exceedingly unpopular, and perhaps not the least so to many of the noblemen who were called upon to aid in carrying into effect an expedient of which they probably disapproved.

Lord Strange was regarded by all his contemporaries as

[88] State Pap. Dom. Ser., Car. I. 215-83.

[89] State Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I., vol. xii. 215-84. *Archæol.* Vol. xxxix, p. 189, where the subject is very ably discussed by F. M. Nichols, esq. M.A., F.S.A., who holds that the grievance of knighthood money did not commence until after the king's final breach with the parliament.

being well affected and conformable to the established religion, separated alike from Rome and Geneva. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, himself a Presbyterian, speaks of him as a great countenancer of religion and a constant practiser of it in his family for many years. Bishop Bridgeman had appointed him, in the year 1629, one of the lay Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes in the north of England,[90] who formed a sort of High Commission Court, and whose inquisitions were often stringent; but lord Strange was not an active agent, and committed none of the excesses which have been attributed to this tribunal.[91] His name is not in any way associated with the proceedings of the Star Chamber, and the abolition of that court was not regarded by him with disapprobation. There is much to prove that he possessed a spirit of toleration, which was the more honourable because in his day it was proscribed by nearly all parties. In 1637, when Prynne, without his ears, was publicly *fêted* by the corporation of Chester, on his way to Carnarvon castle, it is worthy of remark that lord Strange, as chamberlain of the city, was passive on the occasion, and is not named. The same cannot be said of "the Luciferian Lord Bishop," who was none of "the Lord's Bishops," as the ill-mouthed young lawyer opprobiously wrote of the prelates.[92] It is true that lord Strange was watchful over the political proceedings of the Jesuits and their agents,

[90] *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxii. p. 112. Bridgeman's *Lieger, Cestr.*

[91] Macaulay's *Hist.*, vol i. c. i. p. 93.

[92] Prynne's *Prelates' Tyranny*, pp. 92-108. Strafford's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 99.

knowing well that temporal as well as spiritual power was claimed and exercised by the Church of Rome, which he regarded as incompatible with freedom and the reformed faith. He had a vivid recollection of the Surrender of Deventer and Fort Zutphen by Roman Catholic gentlemen, and he considered allegiance to a foreign power inconsistent with English loyalty. As early as the 18th December, 1625 he addressed a letter to the earl, his father, as lord lieutenant of the Palatinate, reporting what arms he had found and removed from Hornby Castle, the house of the lord Morley, and from the houses of other Lancashire Roman Catholics, which letter lord Derby forwarded to the Privy Council.[93] And when the Parliament, in 1641, passed an act for disarming these supposed disloyal subjects, lord Strange received in the following year the thanks of the Government for his vigilance within the limits of his lieutenancy; but no charge of undue severity in the enforcement of the penal statutes was ever brought against him. If he personally esteemed some of the Puritans, he opposed Puritanism as exclusive and democratical, as being a compound of the "drum and pulpit," and theoretically designed to lead to a new empire to be composed of saints who should reign and rule in the world to the utter exclusion of kings and bishops. He therefore cautioned his son to have neither Puritans nor Jesuits about him;[94] and he was of course, as he is accused of being, quite as much

[93] State Pap. Dom. Car. I., vol. xii. art. 5.

[94] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 35.

an anti-Papal-leader as an anti-Puritan-king,[95] although this modern Presbyterian writer who brings the accusation, cannot understand "the golden mean of Anglicanism" which lord Strange so wisely and consistently held. Persecution in matters of faith he condemned, and widened the claims of conscience, wishing those claims to be founded on Scriptural belief as interpreted by the Church of England.[96] He was a stranger to compromise, and firmly resisted all undue compliances with the ever-shifting parties by whom he was surrounded; but whether he quite admired the temporal power and authority assumed by some of his contemporary bishops, may at least be doubted.[97] He was obviously one of those moderate men who, far removed from what has since been called ultra Protestantism, objected to the Church being applied to political and factious uses, and who, having high views of her divine origin and apostolical authority, thought her thereby lowered and desecrated.[98]

In 1642, when an extreme section of the Manx people having, as he forcibly observed, "caught the general plague of madness,"[99] came in a tumultuous if not in an insurrectionary manner, desiring new laws and a change of old, brawling vehemently, and stoutly affirming that they would have no bishops and pay no tithes to the clergy, lord Strange met them in a spirit of conciliation. With true wisdom he

[95] Mackenzie's *Legisl. of Man*, Intr. pp. xiii-xv. p. 200 Notes; *Priv. Devot.*, p. 112.

[96] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 24.

[97] *Hist. Isle of Man*, pp. 6-7. [98] *Ibid*, p. 14. [99] *Ibid*, pp. 6-9.

listened to the objectors, took counsel with the bishop, carefully removed acknowledged abuses, cut off unjust exactions, and reformed proved grievances in the island Church.[1] He pruned the branches but protected the roots of the tree which had been so long planted amongst the islanders. The judicious exercise of his great power in thus perfecting the organisation of the Church has been recently brought as an accusation against him, and he is charged at this time with having "temporised."[2] In plain terms, he did not commit a sacrilegious act of spoliation and subvert the people's Church. When an adversary has little else but similar dull invectives and uncharitable reproaches to allege, the individual assailed may be regarded as almost invulnerable, and neither "a despot" nor his rule "a despotism."[3] About this time, or a little later, he is found offering, in private, prayers at once earnest and devout, for the welfare of his enemies as well as his friends.[4] Nor is it amongst the least touching incidents of his life that he offered praise to God for having enabled him to find many personal friends amongst his political enemies.[5]

As he maintained the teachings, so he carefully observed the rites and ceremonies of the Church, as he found them in the Prayer Book;[6] and this led him, amongst other duties, to restore churches,[7] to see that parsonage-houses were

[1] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 28, s. 12; Townley's *Journal in the Isle of Man*, vol. ii. pp. 262-74, 8vo, 1791.
[2] Mackenzie's *Legisl. of Man*, p. 200 Notes. [3] *Ibid*, p. 200 Notes.
[4] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 15, 39, 43. [5] *Ibid*, p. 42. [6] *Ibid*, p. 6.
[7] *Tanner MS.*, Bodl. Oxon. p. 144, fol. 31.

kept up, as well as to insist, as far as he could, on the residence of the clergy on their glebes;[8] nor did he omit to

[8] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 14; Townley's *Journal in the Isle of Man*, vol. ii. p. 274. — The following official "presentments" at the visitations of the chancellor and archdeacon of Chester in the first half of the seventeenth century furnish us with a fair description of the morals, habits and superstitions of the people of a large Lancashire parish with which earl James was closely connected:

"Winwick, 1632. William Burscoe and another, presented for lyeinge and loyteryng in the fields at Sermon time and giving undecent words to the Church Officers.

William Clare, for bowlinge in the afternoon at Service time.

The son of Lawrence Edleston, for going out of the Church at Prayer tyme, and being warned to come in would not, but contemptuouslie layd him down upon a hillocke.

Oliver Robie, for goinge forth of the Church before the Sacrament of Baptism ended, being bidden to staye.

Thomas Hedge and others, for makeinge Bricke at Winwick hall upon St. Peter's day in time of Service.

Robert Horner, for shearinge Sheepe at Service time upon Tuesdaie in Easter week.

Roger Burchall, a depraver of the Religion established in the Church of England, and a negligent comer to Church, and reported that my Lord (Strange, or the Bishop?) suffered Seminarie Priests to walk hand in hand and not so much as point at them.

The wife of James Starkie and others, having a candle burning uppon the Beere (Bier?) in sup'stitious manner and for kneelinge by the corpes of Matthew Hull sett downe at a Crosse.

1634. Laymen of ranke (no names) sent for the Blesser to blesse the Cattle that were sicke at Winwick, and for usinge invocation uppon the bodies of men and beasts, and gloryinge in itt.

Thomas Aspynall, a swearer, and saying that he hath a prayer that wyll shorten a man's lyfe.

Robert Dorning of Rysley, for receiving the Cupp sittinge

exhort them, with George Herbert, to "keep the middle way between superstition and slovenliness." It is notorious that in his day the abuses of the Church were almost equal to the abuses of the State, but he at least endeavoured to ameliorate them by placing in his livings thoughtful, sound, and earnest-minded men,

> Men, whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
> Would have been held in high esteem with Paul.[9]

Neither does there appear to be sufficient ground for the assertion made by an accomplished writer,[10] and afterwards repeated in a popular history,[11] that the piety of lord Strange "had led him into a disadvantageous connection with the Presbyterians," nor that his livings "were filled by him with enemies of the Royal cause." It ought not to be forgotten that Herle was not presented to the influential living of Winwick by him,[12] and, after a careful investigation of the principles of the clergy selected by him for preferment, it clearly appears that Puritanism formed no part of their creed at the time of their promotion. Had such, however, been the case, it only furnishes one of the many proofs of that honourable reliance upon others which was the cause of

> and refusing the Bread unless out of another man's hands and not att the Mynister's.
>
> Margaret Hey for sleepinge in ye Churche att Prayer and Sermon.
>
> Margaret Otewise, for dippinge a Child in the Font after itt was baptised." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxii. pp. 188, 194.)

[9] Milton.

[10] Heywood's *Earls of Derby and Verse Writers*, 4to, p. 31, 1825.

[11] Baines's *Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iv. p. 22.

[12] See *ante*, p. v.

innumerable misfortunes, not only to himself, but also to those whom he most desired to serve.[13]

Lord Strange has left behind him a general confession of his faith in the following summary, which he had either collected or adopted, and which can hardly be considered compatible with Puritanical opinions, although in one point it is perhaps incompatible with a recognition of the independence of the British Church:

A Catholic is one who, laying aside all particular opinions and imaginations both of himself and others, doth subject his judgment to the determination of Christ's universal faith and known Church upon earth, embracing whatsoever that Church believeth, and abandoning whatsoever that Church rejecteth. (See *St. Hierome*, &c.)

He that followeth *Universality*, *Antiquity*, and *Consent*, in his Belief, and standeth firmly to the Faith which hath been held from time to time, in all places, in all seasons, by all or the most part of Bishops, Priests, and Doctors, in Christendom; He that can say with St. Augustine that he truly followeth that *Universal Church* which had her beginning by the entering in of Nations, got authority by Miracles, was increased by Charity, and established by Continuance; which hath her succession of Bishops from the Chaire of Peter till our time; He that is modest, quiet, sober, void of contention, and obedient (as St. Paul describes a good Catholic), and humble in his own conceit (and agreeing to humble things), firm in his faith, and not variable, nor delighted with new doctrines; He that can captivate his own Understanding to the obedience of Christ, which is to believe humbly such things as Christ by his Church proposeth unto him, albeit his reason or sense should stand against the same; Finally, he that can be content at Christ's commandment to *hear his Church* in all things, without doubt or exception, and obey the

[13] Heywood, p. 31.

Governors thereof, albeit in life they should be "Scribes and Pharisees," and consequently can say truly and sincerely with the Holy College of Christ's Apostles together, *Whatsoever that Church doth set forth, teach, hold, or believe*, I receive; That man, no doubt, is in most sure case for matters of Faith.[14]

He has recorded that the following anthem which is strongly marked with his own individuality was "made at Knowsley in the year 1640, and there set in Musique. It was often sung there to the Organ, Lute, Irish Harp, and Violls," and he has also added that "if these troubles had not happened, it had been perfected, for the whole Creed was intended [to be composed] in this manner."[15] We may hope that the musical strains were at least not inferior to the poetical, but it is certain that his deep sympathy with all that related to the spiritual nature of man would add a charm to both. Earl William, like his more distinguished son, had musical tastes, and "a pavin made for the Orpharion" by him, was published in 1624, in Pilkington's second set of *Madrigals and Pastorals*.[16] The earl was also a benefactor to the organist of Chester cathedral.[17] Lord Strange found, notwithstanding his love of music and song,

[14] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. pp. 82, 83. See also *Priv. Dev.*, pp. 24, 63.

[15] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. pp. 45, 46, 47.

[16] Heywood's *Earls of Derby and Verse Writers*, p. 6.

[17] State Pap. 306–56. William, earl of Derby, gave £100, the interest of which was to be paid for ever to the use of the organist of Chester cathedral. On the 18th July 1650, it was found that this sum had descended apparently in trust to James, then earl of Derby, and the commissioners for compounding were asked whether the commonwealth might not sequestrate it.

that "organs" were unpopular instruments with his ascetic Puritan neighbours, and that "musitians" were very troublesome,[18] neither "going to bed in silence nor getting up quietly." As he had a company of players connected with his household establishment,[19] the members probably took parts in his sacred concerts:

Come, ye hearts that be holy, celebrate your God, the unbegotten Father, the Fountain of all good, who made all things by his Word, and sustains them by the influence of his mighty Love. Who sits gloriously arrayed with a Golden Robe of Light, and guirds a fiery Sword upon his Imperial side for the Defence of ye Oppressed and Destruction of the Rebells.

Behold God, loosening the Reines to a swift teame of Winds, is carried on high, in a bright Chariot of Clouds, and Heaven shaken far about, with the thundering of the wheels, breaks forth into Fires, with often and fearful bellowings.

Hereat the frighted sons of men do quake. Their hairs stand stiff upon their heads and a cold sweat trickles down their sturdy limbs, hearing the Judge of their crimes, and perceiving the vast vault of the air breaking into stormes. Even the Ocean swells with fear from the bottom of the sands, and the Earth, tremblingly, [begins] to shrink back her bosom.

Come, thou groaning Nature, let the fear of the fainting creatures praise our God, and let all of us rejoice with trembling. Let the Sea roar aloud His praises against ye shore. Let Mother-Earth thunder forth His praises from the deepest of her blindest Caverns: let the Rivers which circle the Nations with long streams, cherish the admiring brinks, with pleasant murmurs of His praises.

[18] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 35.

[19] *Shuttleworth Accounts*, part iv. p. 895; *Stanley Papers*, part i. p. 14 Notes.

Thou Wind, fill full thy hollow lungs with His praise, and breathe it so among the ancient Forests that they, too, may adore it, with an inclination of their lofty heads.

Let the bowing of the Corn fields also, make pleasant waves, by an emulation of their respectful ears. Command the rugged Rocks to put on ears, that they, too, may learn these holy lays.

Let all Cattle, standing on astonished limbs, hearken to the sound of God's high praises, and with lowings and bleatings express in their manner, that they return the praises they were taught.

You scaled showls [shoals] and troops of Fishes, frisk and frett in waters deep, with a sense of His praise, and let your shining fins stand erect, as 'twere for joye, and though you cannot sing your parts, in that good Concert, yet keep your measures. While the painted flocks that sweeten ye shady Woods, with plaintive warblings, shall, with their melodious mincings, chant Sacred Hymns.

You pregnant Clouds; you artillery of the Great Thunderer: Lightning, Hail, Snow, and Vapour, attending His commands; Praise God with a dutyfull Obedience. Let the great Glory of God shine clearly through the clouds, and break forth in a bone fire of bright Lightnings.

But you the purest bodies may better set forth God's pure praises. You Starry Orbs, who by mutual attrition, cause so miraculous a harmony, do you diversify your accords, with the variety of your motions.

Let the Times that silently give place to following ages, the night unto the day, and day to night, rehearse and teach, in perpetual succession of the Yeares, the Praises of the GREAT JEHOVAH.

J. D.

The following table not only indicates his intimate acquaintance with the holy Scriptures, but also his methodical and regular habit of devotional reading:

PSALMES TO BE READ IN Y^E

Morning — 3, 5, 16, 22, 144.
Evening — 4, 127, 141.
For Mercy after a Sin committed — 51, 103.
In Sickness or Heaviness — 6, 13, 88, 90, 91, 137, 146, 22, 38, 79.
W^n thou art Converted — 30, 32.
On ye Saboth Day — 19, 92, 95.
In time of Joy — 98, 107, 133, 145, 180, 33, 67.
Before a Sermon — 1, 12, 147, ye 1st and 5, p^t of ye 119.
After Sermon — read y^t wch concerneth ye chief argum^t of ye sermon.
At ye Communion — 22, 23, 103, 111, 113.
For Spiritual Solace — 15, 19, 25, 46, 67, 112, 116.
After Wrong and Disgrace — 42, 69, 70, 140, 144.
Ag^t the Malice of Enemies — 7, 10, 35, 52, 59, 64, 69, 70, 109.
Prayer against them y^t Oppress ye Church — 74, 80, 83.
In time of Danger by Sea or Land — 29, 46.
Praise and Thanksgiving to God, &c. — 103, 104, 107, 113, 116, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 68, 81.

The end and purpose of reading the Scriptures is, that we may learn the truth, that we may be kept from error, that we may be driven from vice, that we may be instructed and settled in ye way of well doing, and in all our troubles comforted, and thereby confirmed in patient hope. Rom. xv. 4.

Consider:

1. The coherence of the text, how it hangeth together.
2. The course of times and ages.
3. The manner of speech proper to the Scriptures.
4. The agreement that one place of Scripture hath with another, whereby that wch seemeth darke in one is made easie in another.
5. Read Interpreters, and confer with such as can open ye Scriptures. Acts 8, 30, 31. &c.

Hear Preaching, and prove by Scriptures what is taught you. Acts 17.

Going to read the Scriptures, say Psalm 109, 169 v.

Let my cry come near before Thee, O Lord; give me understanding according to Thy word.

Give me understanding and I shall keep Thy law: yea, I will observe it with all my heart. Ps. 119, 34.

Make me to understand the way of Thy precepts, so shall I talk of Thy wondrous works. Ps. 119, 27.

When I leave off Reading for a time, say:

I will meditate on Thy precepts and have respect unto Thy ways. Ps. 119, 15.

I will delight myself in Thy statutes and not forget Thy word. 16.

Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path. 105.

I will never forget Thy precepts for wth them thou hast quickened me. 93.

I am Thine, save me, for I have sought Thy precepts. 94.[20]

There was a chaplain at Knowsley whose learned father, of the same name, had long been connected with the king and queen of Bohemia and with the Protestant Church in the United Provinces, and whose writings are not yet forgotten. Dr. Peter du Moulin the younger was originally a French Huguenot and in creed a Calvinist, although he afterwards conformed to the English Church and became famous for his defence of Charles the First against Milton and the republicans. To his father's connection with the French court as chaplain to Catharine of Bourbon, sister of Henry IV. and the wife of Henry of Lorraine duke of Bar, he was doubtless indebted for a similar situation in the household of lord Strange. When his character was

[20] *Oxf. MS.*, vol. xxxv. pp. 39, 40, 41.

unjustly aspersed, he vindicated himself in a letter to secretary Dorchester, dated February 3rd 1631, and referred, as a pledge of his respectability, to bishop Hall and to a residence of several years as chaplain in the family of lord Strange.[21] It may fairly be supposed that his theological views at this time were more in harmony with those of lady Strange than of her husband, although Du Moulin was strongly opposed to the theologians who afterwards supported the Parliament and ejected him from the rectory of Wheldrake, near York.

The following characteristic letters to secretary Windebank, relating to the clamours of certain creditors of his deceased brother sir Robert Stanley, afford a glimpse of some of the family disquietudes and trials of the young lord Strange, and of the honourable manner in which he dealt with the parties concerned. A suit appears to have been pending in the Court of Wards, much to his annoyance, at the instance of his brother's widow, who was the daughter of sir Arthur Gorges, and afterwards became the wife of Theophilus fourth earl of Lincoln. On the 7th March 1634 lord Strange writes as follows:[22]

[21] S. P. Domestic Car. I. 184-9. He kept up his intercourse with Holland, printed some of his books at the Hague, lived to become one of Charles II.'s chaplains, and died prebendary of Canterbury in 1684, æt. 84 years. His Latin poems, some of which are pleasing, sufficiently display his loyal principles and predilections. It might almost have been expected that he would have dedicated one to the memory of his old patron, but though several of the great loyalists are commemorated by him, his printed "Poemata" contain no memorial of earl James.

[22] S. P. Domest. Corresp. Car. I. bundle 284, art. 37.

S^R^,—I receaved your letter this 5th of March (by Ward, my sist^r^ Stanley's sollicitor) wherein I perceive his Maties pleasure, that she sholde have more moneyes besides ye 400^li^ which you knowe I [have] paied already: there was at that time 300^li^ remaining, and att Christmass last 150^li^ more due to her son for another quarter, all which I am most willing to lay downe, for his Matie never sent commandes to a more harty obedient subject than my self, as my Ancestors have been before me, and soe shall I teach all mine to be. I beseech you remember that I had a message from you, since last I sawe you, that I shoulde endeavour to stop the clamors of her Creditors, untill such time as his Matie were gratiously pleased to determine the business betweene us; most of them were willing, soe y^t^ my sister would allowe me [to be] their paymaster, in so much as I conceive my self engaged to them for as much money as is now dewe, being 450^li^. But give me leave to complaine a litle that my sister doth, notwithstanding his Maties most gratious reference, goe on in the Court of Wards, and doth refuse to joine with me in comission for examining of witnesses to prepare the business for his Matie against Easter Terme next, and hath gott a new order for the re-examining of my father and myself upon our oathes, and to comande us upon our perills to deliver up writings, which wee were ever ready to doe; but by this meanes the business is delayed, and for all I see, she woulde gett moneys in her handes to keep me still in suite, and y^t^ with my owne money, not intending to pay any of it to her Creditors. All this is quite against the King's referrence; besides that by my Councell I have moved in the Court of Wardes to hasten the business for his Matie against Easter next, which now cannot be. I protest unto you seriously, I knowe not how to procure the money now, but I will strive for it: however, at Easter terme, God willing, I will have ready this summe, and another quarteridge which will then be due, that his Matie may dispose of it as, in his wisdome and justice, he thinks good, and of all I have in the worlde. I beseech you, good S^r^, acquainte the King with all this letter, and

stande my freind, but as in conscience you thinke good, soe shall you ever tie me to be

Your most affectionate frende and servante,

STRANGE.[23]

He writes again on the 20th April 1635, on the same subject, to the same individual. The manner in which he refers to the bereavement of his friends and children by death, to the loss of his own health and much of his peace of mind, as well as his allusion to his wife's illness, is singularly affecting; and yet all these sorrows combined, which might have furnished a reasonable excuse for staying at home, were regarded by him as insignificant in comparison of his obedience to the king's command that he should visit London. Whatever the young widow's claims might be, her "unjust pressings" induced lord Strange to describe her, probably with a higher regard for truth than with the politeness of a courtier as "a most unconscionable woman," but still he was ready to obey his sovereign. He appears to have considered that his too profuse liberality towards his brother's family had been punished by the ingratitude he experienced. After all, on the 11th August 1637, an award was made by the king, and the widow probably secured what she claimed, although the Parliament afterwards roughly seized her annuity and reduced her and her children to great straits.[24]

S^R^,—Wee say comonly, ill luck comes not alone. I am sure 'tis

[23] S. P. Domest. Corresp. Car. I. bundle 284, art. 37.

[24] Seacome's *Hist.* p. 389.

true with me, for besides many crosses I have had of late these unjust pressings of my sist[r] Stanley are not y[e] least; for her requests ever fall out to me most unseasonable. But though I have lost lately frendes, children, some of my owne health and much of my peace, yet I will consider nothing in comparison of my obedience to his Ma[tie]. And though I come not at the beginning of the Terme according to your letter (which I received but yester night), yet, God willing, I will be at London the latter end of it, and the rather to bring my wife with me, being soe comanded by her Ma[tie]. She is unfitt for travell, rising but last weeke from her bed, but it were better if wee both slept in o[r] graves than be thus perpetually vext by the misinformation of a most unconscionable woman. My servante whome she blames doth justifie that he spake to all the Creditors according to that noate you gave him, and they were willing to forbeare any proseqution ag[t] her, soe she would give an other noate that she was contented I should pay them those moneys you knowe I had; but she refused soe to doe, in particul[r] to 2 of the cheif — Miller and Williams, Mercers. Concerning y[e] Court of Wardes she hath refused to joyne in a comission to examine witnesses wherby his Ma[tie] might be truly satisfied of the true state of the cause, though my father and my self were contented to be re-examined to certain Intergatories [*sic*] which wee have already done, soe that my Councell say y[e] business cannot be in rediness for his Ma[ties] hearing and determining, till some witnesses be examined. For w[t] moneys are due to her son from me, soe she will signe under her hande, what I shall pay any Creditor for her husbandes debts I will take present course forthwith, knowing his Ma[tie] will cause me to have a sufficient discharge, as he most gratiously saide he would, either for what I have payd since my brother's death, or may pay now, or hereafter. The next weeke, God willing, I will sende two hundred poundes, to be disposed as you thinke fitt; the rest I will provide ag[t] my coming up which I believe I shall be ordered to give among the Creditors.

Good S[r],--I beseech you to consider these trobles are a greivous

prejudice of my wife, a stranger, and her younger children, being those claymes of my sisters are the only things allotted for them, and I dare pawne my life she hath noe right to any of y^{m}; besides the charge is great of six hundred poundes yeerly, payed out of my estate, which my father and my self did give freely as unto them wee thought would be gratefull and kinde unto us, but God knowes it is now a great griefe, and I hope his Matie will knowe it too when witnesses are examined. Pray, for God's sake, S^{r}, make the best of my business. It is for

Your ever most affectionate frende and humble servante,

STRANGE.[25]

The operation of the law affecting the office of high sheriff of the county was found at this time very unsatisfactory, and Pym and others loudly complained, and not unreasonably, of the excessive extra judicial power of the judges. Lord Strange was not indisposed to ameliorate instances of individual oppression which fell under his cognizance. In 1629 Edward Rawsthorne of Newhall esq. had filled the office of sheriff of the county, and John Bradshaw of Bradshaw esq. had entered into bond for Mr. John Lightboune, the sheriff's bailiff, for the due execution of his duties. Owing, in the estimation of the judges, to the "evill demeanour" of the bailiff, Rawsthorne was called upon to pay "great sums of money" imposed by the judges, and "had been grieved with suits at law and with much travail" to recover his payments from Bradshaw; and it was not until October 1636 that the litigants were appeased. In that year lord Strange advised that John Grenehalgh of Brandlesome and Edmund Assheton of Chadderton, esquires, should be chosen and no-

[25] S. P. Domes. Corresp. Car. I.

minated arbitrators, a final appeal to himself being reserved by the contending parties. It was decreed that Bradshaw should pay to Rawsthorne at Newhall various sums of money, that the payments should extend over several years, and that the two squires should become "good and lovinge frends and neighbours again;" and lord Strange confirmed the award in the following letter to his "very louing and wors[ll] frend John Grenehalgh esq. att Brandlesome," on the 30th October 1636:

Mr. Grenehalghe, — I doe approue of y[r] Award and request that you will conuey my approbac̃on to M[r] Assheton, soe now I doe hope that goodwill and peace may be restored where it hath been too long absent and that all anger may surcease. I haue appointed to hunt a Buck on Thursday with the Lo. Chamberlain, S[r] Cha. Gerard and some other companye, and I haue a buck and a barren doe ready taken upp, and if you and M[r] Holte think itt worth y[e] while to see y[e] diversion or eat a piece of venison pastye I shall be glad of y[r] company. Soe desiring y[r] answer,

I rest y[r] louing frend,

Strange.[26]

Lord Strange probably interfered also to mitigate similar harsh proceedings taken against his friend colonel William ffarington of Worden, afterwards one of the county members, for pretended omissions of duty during his shrievalty in the year 1636. Having accidentally failed to meet the judges with his official cavalcade at a particular point on their journey to Lancaster, and not having ordered a man to be executed who had never received sentence of death, fines amounting to £700 were imposed upon Mr. ffarington

[26] *Chadderton Evid., penés* sir W. Horton bart. (*Lanc. MSS.*)

by the judges of assize.[27] Great interest was used, but with only partial success, to obtain a remission of the exorbitant impost, and the ancient and dignified office of sheriff must have been regarded at that time by the county families as an expensive, troublesome and equivocal honour.

The following letter was addressed by lord Strange to the same gentleman, who was distinguished as a high-minded and honourable man, and remarkable for the well-tempered zeal with which he defended the English Church:

Mr. ffarington, — I forgott to desire you yesterday to doe me a kindness which is nowe in your waye at Chest^r^, that you will remember my seruice unto the Judge[28] and give him from me the *Parabé*,[29] as the Spaniard calls it, when he welcomes one that steps up to hoñor: the maine thing indeede is that you will please to say I did desire you to move his Lo. that when a suite comes before him at Flint[30] concerning Tythes, in maters whereabout the Bishop of Chest^r^ and others haue some difference, that his Lo. will take notice that the same concernes me neerly, and that he will please to haue some regard unto it to do me a favour therein.

[27] *ffarington Papers*, p. 51.

[28] Sir Thomas Milward knt. was appointed judge of the county palatine of Chester and great sessions of the county of Montgomery, Denbigh and Flint, 14 Car. I. 1638. He held the office ten years, and was succeeded by the notorious John Bradshaw.

[29] Properly, *Parabién*, S.M.: Compliment of congratulation, gratulation, felicitation (see Neuman and Baretti *sub voc.*), or as described by lord Strange himself, as the Spaniard calls it, *when he welcomes one that steps to honor;* more shortly expressed in the latter part of the letter, as a "compliment."

[30] Flint was parcel of the county palatine of Chester, of which lord Strange was chamberlain, having the same authority as the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. (*Chetham Miscell.*, vol. ii. p. 33.)

And also that you will take the paines to tell the Bishop of Chest[r] that I soe mind the business that I haue desired you to go with a compliment unto the Judge and that I haue writt unto M[r] Dimock to followe the business at Flint Assizes; soe with my harty love to you, which you may most justly challenge, I rest your true affectionate frend,

(Signed) STRANGE.[31]

Y[e] 10th of Ap. 1638.

Indorsed: "To my very louing frend M[r] William ffarington these."

Having retired from the court, lord Strange did not attend upon the king at the beginning of the war, and as a constitutional royalist had probably little hostility to some of the proceedings of the first three parliaments of Charles. He did not sullenly stand aloof, but in his quiet seclusion was an orderly and anxious spectator, and might even wish to avoid all undue interference with the combatants. He had the highest personal regard for the king, but was equally opposed to unlimited power, whether claimed by a king or exercised by an usurper, and had little sympathy with either the court or the popular factions which were at this juncture convulsing the country. The king, ignorant of the extent of the royal prerogative, surrounded by ill-judging ministers

[31] *Worden Evid., penés* Miss ffarington. However indecorous any reference in a communication to a judge, respecting a matter about to come before him in his judicial character, would be considered in our day, there was nothing unusual, in those times, in bespeaking a favourable consideration of a particular case; and it must be remarked that in the present instance lord Strange was seeking to promote rather the public interest of the Church in Flintshire, which he deemed unjustly assailed, than any private object of his own.

and distrusted by his "faithful commons," levied taxes without the authority of Parliament. The Church came to be involved essentially, perhaps primarily, in the contest, for some of her heads, although great statesmen, proved their fallibility by acting in opposition to some of her avowed principles. It was the abortive attempt to introduce the English ritual into the Kirk of Scotland which first brought the Covenanters into direct hostility to the king. All the elements of discord were soon introduced into the nation. The strife of tongues led to the strife of swords; and the cavalier in his gay caparison and with his trusty sword, and the roundhead in his steel and buff, went forth as they each maintained and each believed to fight for his God and country.

If we regard lord Strange in

> ——— the tranquil hour
> Of social pleasure, ill exchanged for pow'r,

it is obvious that he, at least, had no personal object in view, having much to lose and nothing to gain, by embarking in the war. In domestic life he was surrounded by an affectionate family: he was happy in the society of a young and high-minded wife: he was himself wealthy, temperate and beloved,—with a spirit as brave and noble as Strafford's, without the drawback of an imperious temper, — possessing a character as stainless as Falkland's, with a more practical understanding, — and animated by a patriotism as pure as Hampden's or Eliot's, unalloyed by the baser admixtures of rivalry, faction, or ambition; but he could not remain neu-

tral. Impartiality was deemed hostility, and forbearance weakness. The spectacle exhibited was injurious to the laws and liberties of the subject, for when taxes were imposed, fortifications raised, men enlisted and armies equipped by the Covenanters, there could be no longer any doubt of the designs of the insurgents, and defence became a necessity. "When I found a crown, a church, and a people spoiled," he said, with Strafford, "I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks; it cost warmer water than so."

On the breaking out of the Scots' rebellion, lord Strange was summoned by the king, in February 1638-9, to repair to his majesty who was then at York with his council.[32] He addressed a stirring appeal, without any delay, to his deputy-lieutenants for military aid, and the service was promptly rendered.[33] How reluctantly he quitted the happy scenes by which he was surrounded may be inferred from the circumstance that his wife was at that time recovering from sickness, and that he was still brooding over the death of a favourite son and long after felt the bereavement,[34] for the strong and fiery element which he possessed was the result more of circumstance than of temperament. He had not been born and bred in camps, although his father had served his country in a military capacity;[35] nor had he passed his life amongst contending armies and grey-bearded warriors. He knew little, practically, of military science, discipline, or

[32] *Harington Papers*, p. 57.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 58.
[34] *Diary*, p. 2. *Priv. Devot.*, p. 26.
[35] Seacome, pp. 167-172.

order. No one was more opposed to aggressive warfare. He was of opinion that a nation gained more by one year's peace than by ten years' war, and that war was the curse and peace the blessing of God upon a nation.[36] Having however answered the royal summons, he endeavoured to make himself master of the science of war, and devoted himself assiduously to its study;[37] and although as a commander he was deficient in the caution of the first and third earls of Derby; he has always been regarded, notwithstanding the "irresolution" and "unactivity,"[38] which Clarendon without sufficient grounds imputes to him, as a brave leader in an arduous undertaking, but whose efforts were not seconded by those favourable circumstances on which military success so much depends.

The English army, accompanied by lord Strange, did not enter Scotland. Wise councils prevailed. Concessions were made by the king at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the 17th June 1639, and peace appeared to be restored, so that in the following month the English army left the border territory. It was at this time and place that Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, preached before the king and his courtiers some of those matchless sermons which prove that in the worst times the Church had the ablest defenders and that royal chaplains were not necessarily parasites. The Covenanters, notwithstanding their plausible professions of

[36] Instructions to his Son: Aphorisms xix, xx. Seacome, p. 372.

[37] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 102-4.

[38] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. ii. book vi. p. 146.

loyalty, were secretly dissatisfied, and had not profited by the sound teaching of Sanderson, as they treacherously sought aid against their own sovereign from the French court, and before the end of the year a war with Scotland, however ill-timed, was inevitable.

In the beginning of the following year lord Strange was at Knowsley, when a new and violent Parliament met, which, by first abolishing one of the three estates of the realm,[39] and afterwards by taking the executive government upon themselves, by depriving the king of the militia, virtually dissolved the constitution. In the summer of this year (1640) Charles suddenly determined to go to York, where he remained until joined by Strafford, and afterwards by lord Strange. The former proceeded against the Scots with an army "unprovided of every thing, but most of all unprovided with courage, fidelity and inclination to the service."[40] As the latter did not reach York until October, and Strafford on the 1st of September was with his "unexercised" army at Northallerton, it is clear that lord Strange had remained with the king at York. At the council table in that city were assembled the king, Hamilton, Strafford, Laud, Falkland, Holland and lord Strange, — all of whom had violent deaths; and of all the members of that brilliant but unfortunate assembly, perhaps the most open and faithful servant of the king, next to Strafford, was lord Strange.

[39] Blackstone, vol i. book i. ch. 2. The Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons constitute the parliament. The first was abolished by an arbitary act of the parliamentary leaders.

[40] *Life of Sir George Radcliffe*, p. 202.

What a contrast to the Pyms, Iretons and Bradshaws of that intriguing period! At this time the court grievances had in some degree been forgotten, and lady Strange was recognized by the court as a vigorous and valuable auxiliary in Lancashire, An important official communication which she received, referred to in the following querulous letter, seems to have absorbed her attention, so that she failed to satisfy the expectation, reasonable or unreasonable, of a necessary agent, who gave utterance to his disappointment:

To the worshipfull Robert Read Esq., Secretary to the Right Honble Sr Francis Windebanke, Knight, principle secretary to his Matie, comptroler of his Matie's^ posts, att Courtt, or at his house in Drury Lane.[41]

Honored S^R^,—You may please to understand that I received a pacquett signed by Mr Secretary for his Mat^ie's^ speciall service, directed unto me, apon Sonday the 11 of this Instant att night, wch accordinge to your direction, I went that night my selfe to Knowsley and delivered the enclosed to my Lady Strange, before she was out of her chamber. My Lord Strange beinge that morninge ready to take his journey to York, which his Lo^p^ did soone after my cominge thither. Knowsley is from this place distant 22 miles; my Lady Strange was not soe bountifull as to pay mee for my charges, nor one pennie for my paines, which I made bould to acquaint your worship therewith, if occasion shall hereafter happen to send to these partes again. This letter from her to Sr Richard Winn is an acknowledgment of the receipt of yours, and a former from Sr Richard Winn. Soe craving pardon for beinge thus troublesom unto you, I take leave and remayne, yours to be commanded to his power

Chester the 17 of October 1640.

Will: Owen.

[41] S. Pap. Dom. Car. I. 288-201.

At this juncture Ireland was governed by the earl of Strafford, the friend and kinsman (by marriage) of lord Strange. The great lord-lieutenant was a man of transcendant capacity, a statesmen of large views and consummate knowledge, but too honest and too loyal for a half-barbarous country like that which he too harshly governed. On the 1st May 1641 he was sacrificed to the vindictive rage of the Long Parliament, being hastily attainted of treason, and executed as a traitor, without having committed a single act against the English constitution which could legally fall under the definition of treason. Lord Strange was not present at his mock trial, although he strongly and indignantly protested against the measure.[42] His death was a stupendous blow to lord Strange, who has reverently preserved in one of his common-place books a Morning Prayer, written and used by this brave man.[43]

[42] Baines's *Hist. Lanc.* vol. iv. p. 22.

[43] *Oxford MS.* vol. xxxv. The following unpublished letter addressed to the Rev. Richard Watts, M.A., fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, chaplain to the earl of Strafford and vicar of Chesterton, by his uterine brother the right honourable sir Richard Scott, knt., of Barns Hall, near Rotherham, who was the comptroller of the household of the earl of Strafford and an Irish privy councillor, is sufficiently interesting to find a place here, as indicating the friendly connection which existed between lord Strange and the lord deputy's family.

"Brother,—"You will I know much wonder that I come not a longe with this companie, and I am also much trobled at it my selfe, beinge I might soe conveniently have seene my sister, your selfe, and little Mall; but soe it is, that the dedimus potestatem for my daughter Katties fine came but to me this last weeke, and shee is in Lankeshire

The alarming state of Lancashire, occasioned by the re-

wth my Ladie Strange, soe that I must needs dispatch that business before I can leave this contry. I intend to meet my Lo^r^ at West Chester. My daughter sayth she will goe ouer wth me, but I am very desirous to steay her here, if I can persuade wth her; when I am nearer my goinge away you shall hear from me ageane, how I dispose of my selfe, her, and all thinges else; I shall desire to hear from you whethere you intend to dispose of any of your money with me in Ireland, and what some, that I may cast my occations accordingly, and that if you dispose of your money here, I may give order for the repayinge of the money which I haue had of you; by the first convenience lett me hear from you, and my prayer shalbe continually for you all untill I see you againe, w^ch^, when that wilbe, the God of heaven knowes. God blesse my Mall, and make me see her againe wth comforth, wch I doubt not if it be His will and pleasure, if otherwise, His will be done wth whatsoeuer is mine.

"Brother, the Irish Lords and gentlemen wch came up with my Lo^r^ are all my very good frends, and I thinke duringe my Lords steay at court will make their randeuous at Cambridge. I will commende them to you to shew them what is there to be seene, and if you invite them to Chesterton they will take it I know kindly, though it may be not goe with you: leave that to their occations. I would haue you visit Sr George Radcliffe and Sr Phillip Mainewaringe when you goe to see my Lo^r^ Deputie at Newmarkett, and you may tender your service to wait upon my Lo^r^ to the Sea side, if he please to accept of it, and to appoint you where and when to attend him, when his business is done att Court, as I haue tould you, if you can harken wherein my Lo^rs^ letter can do you good with my Lo^r^ of Canterbury, I will not faile to procure it for you.

"If my Lo^r^ Digbie come along with my Lo^r^ he is my espetiall frende and Spanish acquaintance, if he wants ethere monie or any thinge else that you can furnish him w^th^all lett him haue it and I wilbe answerable for it: he halfe tould me if he went wth my Lo^r^ to Court he should want monies and I answered him ageane he should want nothinge in those partes for I had a brother there should be his servant; if he desire any monies take only a note of his hand for the repayment

formers of abuses in the Church and the champions of liberty in the State, is vividly described by lady Strange, who hailed the arrival of prince Rupert in England with more than ordinary rejoicing, and addressed to him a letter in French, of which the following is a translation, from Lathom on the 31st August 1641:

The Lady Strange to Prince Rupert.

Monseigneur, — Nobody has felt more joy at your arrival in this country than myself, nor has more dreaded the danger you ran from the earl of Warwick, and from which God has delivered you, I trust for the service of the King and the good of this

ethere in Ireland or London whethere you will and he will not faile to doe it.

"Mall expects some little thinge when I come to Yorke. I shall see what I can finde there for her. Shee shall, you may tell her, want nothinge fitt for her if shee be obedient to her Ante and that you write soe to me. Good brother present my respects to my Sister and lett her know I much grieve I come not to Cambridge to see her, for Mall I know shee is wth soe good frends as I neede not to troble myselfe for her, where I leave her with my prayers for you all, and rest

Your assured lovinge brother

Woodhouse, 11 Octo. 1636. Rich. Scott.

"Commend me to your brother and lett me heare in your next letter how he doeth.

"Brother, since the writinge of this letter all our Irish Lords and Knights have turned their courses and we shall all meete my Lord at West Chester. My Lo^{r} Digbye hath had of Sr George Radcliffe 50^{li} wch I will intreat you to paye ageane to Sr George Radcliffe, and I wilbe answerable for it as you shall direct ethere here or in Ireland, but faile not to pay it for his occations will require it. Take a Note of his hand or his man's for the receipte of it, and write unto me by the first [post]." *

* *Chadderton Evid. penés* sir W. Horton, bart., *Lanc. MSS.*

kingdom, which will be very wretched from the breaking out of the revolt and the report spread of a retreat of his Majesty's forces. Thereby the courage of the seditious has been swollen to such an extent that I do not believe it will be possible to disarm them, unless it shall please the King to send a few companies of cavalry into this province, which would be of great advantage for his Majesty's service. By this means without needing to retain these cavalry companies for more than a very short time, it will be possible to levy and arm an infantry force for the King's service, a thing I fear impossible to be done without it, for we shall have enough to do to defend ourselves against our own internal foes here, and I do not see how any one can dwell in safety without such assistance as may serve to secure all the provinces to his Majesty, a thing of no small consequence. Pardon the liberty which I am taking and my boldness, for the honour which I have of belonging to you gives it to me, and I rely entirely on your generosity to push on this affair with the greatest possible diligence.

Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

CHARLOTE DE LA TREMOILLE.[44]

Lathom, 31 August 1641.

To the Prince Rupert.

A few weeks later lord Strange, writing to the speaker of the house (the lord-keeper Littleton), refers to the miserable state of Ireland, no longer ruled by Strafford, and to the general insecurity felt in Lancashire, as well as to a design said to be contemplated against his own person. A few words, and some incidental allusions in the letter, are expressed cautiously and with designed obscurity, but would answer the purpose of the writer, and be understood by his correspondent, without having recourse to cypher. A

[44] Warburton's *Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. i. p. 364.

shrewd suspicion that the contents of the letter might be intercepted, is strongly indicated:

Ye 13-No: 1641, Knowsley.

My Lord, — I feare much wee that liue soe neare to Irelande, haue a bad advantage of knowing ill tidings thence, sooner then you can doe; and I feare yor lordships may haue this misfortune, not to be informed rightly of the whole truthe thereof, and this I judge, because I see but little haste of remedie vnto the manie euills of that kingdome. Your los maie consider that this poore familie is in the middest of those who are much doubted to be well wishers to the bad designe; and then you will not mervaile at yor mothers feares; it is soe farr in winter, that there is noe possibilitie of remoue, els wee might leaue the safetie of this countrie to the keeping of them that take on them greater power then yor father, only this I thought good to tell you, that some doe me the hoñor to saie, they cannot thinke to be soe secure when I am gone; and it maie be those are they that raise a bruite of some designe against my person, which they knowe I ualew or ualew not, when I maie be seruiceable to them.

All this I tell your los because I doe obserue that in this countrie where is at this present greatest and most aparent danger, I see least done to the cōmon safetie; but I must not saie soe much as I doe heere because I meet with few yt will directly tell anie thing as of theire owne knowledge, and of myself I dare not informe because my owne eyes haue not seene what by circumstances I ought [to] beleuie, only thus much my lord, I am vpon my guarde, and am sorrie to see neede to shutt and watche those doores that you haue sometime knowne all night open, without feare, and I desire it maie not be misinterpreted that soe I doe. If I doe ill, tell me, and I will giue it ouer; if well, I shall expect yor los aprobation. And thus much I must acquainte you, that if euer need was to looke to Lancashire in our time, it is now; and I will saie that I can be as seruiceable heerin as anie other subject; and I haue too much interest to forgett how deeply I am concerned of all

this therefore I desire your lo: to conferr with not only my frends, but frends vnto the state; and sende me some directions which I will obeye like an honest man; for soe must needs be your father, whoe is also

Your most humble servant and affectionate Cosen

STRANGE.[45]

Indorsed: "13 Nou. 1641. Ld Strange to Sp. H. Lords, I think."
Address cut off with half second leaf.

As a proof that lord Strange lamented the organized hostilities, which were becoming more general and alarming, and that he clung to the hope that the stormy elements might even yet be calmed and the sword replaced in its scabbard, vigorous attempts at pacification in Lancashire were made by him and the other leaders of the royalist party in the year 1642; but all these were coldly received or contemptuously rejected by the parliamentarians.[46] His attitude at this time was obviously that of a friend who sought to mediate between two contending parties, and found both of them impracticable. Having himself no personal interest in the struggle, and failing to induce either of the disputants to withdraw his pretensions, he was for a time disposed to retire from the arena, grieved and disappointed, but neither compromised nor disheartened by his unsuccessful efforts to re-establish peace. This attitude however was not of long continuance.

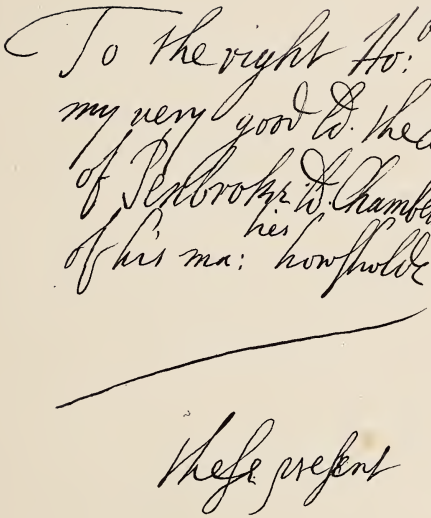
Whilst her husband was with the king at York in this year, lady Strange, with the heroism of some of her great

[45] *Tanner MS.*, Bodl. Oxon., 66, ff. 203-4.
[46] *Lanc. Lieuten.*, part ii. pp. 282-295; *Farington Papers*, pp. 80, 85.

ancestors, attended to military matters and interested herself in the royal cause in Lancashire.[47] Lord Strange submitted, as war was now inevitable, that the royal standard should be raised in this county, and he advanced various reasons in favour of his proposition, principally urging that it was the centre of the northern counties and that the people were loyally inclined to support his majesty's just cause. He promised to raise from his own estate, and to equip at his own expense, three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and expressed a confident belief that he should be able in three days, as the lord-lieutenant, to enlist seven thousand men, and thus organise a force of ten thousand men, to be increased from the adjacent counties; and there is little reason to doubt that during the course of the war he more than fulfilled the hopes which he had raised.

This noble proposition was received with apathy by the council, amongst whom the most disastrous divisions of opinion prevailed. Some of the members were ill-disposed personally to lord Strange; others wished to serve the king on their own terms and after their own fashion; and all of them committed, apparently uncontrolled, an invasion of the royal prerogative. It was, however, decided in a few days that the royal standard should be raised, according to lord Strange's recommendation, at Warrington, and so great was the general enthusiasm in Lancashire on this announcement being made — partly owing to the popular character and partly to the territorial influence of lord Strange —

[47] *ffarington Papers*, pp. 66, 67.



To the right Ho:ble
my very good Ld. the Earle
of Penbroke Ld. Chambelain
of his ma:ties howsholde

these present

Myld

I haue formerly intreated your lo:
noble fauour to this bearer mr Will:
ffarrington, Whoe hath tolde me how
courteously your lo: used him, for which
I give your lo. humble thankes
and desire the same fauour if he
haue occasion to trouble your lo:
againe — I hope his cause deserues
it, and that he will come home with
Comfort and relate it unto

Myford.

Yr lo: most affectionate
Nephew & most humble seruant

Thanys.

ye 29 of Ia: 1636.

From the original, in the possession of Miss ffarington, Worden Hall.

that the county, being summoned by him, mustered at least sixty thousand efficient men on Cokey Moor near Bury, on Houghton Moor near Ormskirk, and on Fulwood Moor near Preston, for the rescue of the king in his distress.[48] All these places contained large bodies of the Derby tenantry, who were the long-tried followers of the house. A generous and powerful train of the knights and gentry of the county was associated with them, and at their head was lord Strange, who promised to be with them "bide life, bide death," in accordance with the old feudal feeling at that time existing between the chief and his retainers.

He immediately raised five thousand auxiliaries, providing them with arms and ammunition at his own expense, and also placed £40,000 in money at the service of the king.[49]

His estates in Cheshire and North Wales he knew would enable him to add largely to this rustic Lancashire force, as nothing could exceed the sincere and simple enthusiasm with which he was regarded by his tenantry. When Clarendon states that "it was easily discovered that his ancient power in the North depended more upon the fear than the

[48] Heath's *Chron.* p. 454.

[49] Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 752, fol. He himself gives the number 3,000, *Hist. Isle Man*, p. 7. His grandson says be raised 3,000 foot and 500 horse at the beginning of the war, with all their accoutrements, at his own expense. (*MS. Book*, Knowsley Libr.) About this time lady Strange received £2,800 sterling "revenant en monnoye de France," to the sum of 28,000 livres, Tournois, apparently from her brother Henry duc de la Tremoille et de Thouars, pair de France, prince de Talmond, &c. (*Notes and Quer.* 2d ser. xii. p. 272.)

love of the people, and that many men engaged themselves against the king that they might not be subject to that lord's commands,"[50] it is evident that the great historian had lent too ready credence to the reports of those whose narrow-minded jealousies contributed so much to neutralize the resources on which Charles had mainly to rely. That lord Strange was prompt, vigorous and self-reliant in his proceedings in raising levies, especially after he was deprived of the lieutenancy, may not be disputed. He would tolerate no political neutrality or selfish indecision, as the following trumpet-sounding missive plainly proves. The name of the individual to whom it was addressed has been lost, along with the envelope of the letter. Lord Strange had then succeeded to his father's title, and felt that the times admitted of no deliberation; the question at issue being monarchy or republicanism — authority or popular rule:

S^R — Whereas att a meeting att Warington the 24th of October 1642, by my selfe and the rest of of the Com^rs of Array and Gentry of this County of Lancaster it was concluded and agreed upon that all the Gentlemen of this County that stand charged with horses for the Kings service should send them furnished to Ormeschurch with all speed, and their Ryders to bring with them maintenance for one fortnight, and now finding that you [are] fayling herein, I have thought good to send this bearer to bring to mee yor Answer in writing. Soe I rest

Your very loving friend

DERBY.[51]

Lathom this 28th of Octob^r.

[50] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 146. See *Hist. Isle Man*, p. 7.

[51] Original, *penés* Richard Almack esq., Melford hall, Suffolk.

In the meantime the king, moved by what Hume calls "the facility of his disposition,"[52] was influenced by injudicious members of his council to make various changes in his original plans. Unhappily for the royal cause he was induced to raise the fatal standard, not in Lancashire, on a broad foundation and in the midst of friends, but at Nottingham (one of the worst places in England for the purpose) — an inauspicious commencement from which many of the disasters which followed seem naturally to have sprung.

Lord Strange's advice having been overruled, he deplored the unwise proceeding as a "great opportunity" lost of rendering service to the country. Want of confidence in his judgment, jealousy of his capacity for command,[53] and suspicions, insidiously expressed, of his heartiness and sincerity in the royal cause, are said to have influenced the members of the council. His cavalier detractors are known to have represented him as being a "popular man," whose vaulting ambition and near alliance with the Crown rendered him a dangerous person to be entrusted with civil power of any magnitude. These groundless prejudices rendered him indignant, but he did not ask to be relieved from irksome duties, as his fidelity was incorrupt and his loyalty never flagged, being of that exalted, pure and simple character which was ready to suffer all things not only for the king, but from the king.[54]

[52] *Hist.*, vol. vii. p. 420. [53] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 146.
[54] Coleridge's *Worthies of Yorks. and Lanc.*, p. 225.

Having been summoned to attend his majesty at head quarters along with the troops which he had raised, he had a fair right to expect to be their leader, but that commission he did not receive, although he had other troops placed at his command, and he was afterwards appointed lord-general of the king's Lancashire and Cheshire forces.

Fearing his great influence, the Parliament deprived him of the lieutenancy of Cheshire and North Wales, but still had so good an opinion of him that he was recommended to the king to be retained, in conjunction with lord Rivers, in that of Lancashire. The commission was of short duration, as some of his Puritan neighbours, headed by Alexander Rigby, an inveterate republican, at that time member of parliament for Wigan, a lawyer, and it is added "a bad one," had sufficient influence to have him removed in March 1641-2, and lord Wharton appointed in his place.[55] He had little reason to be satisfied with such treatment, but he considered "the weakness of the king's situation",[56] and did not retire from his majesty's administration. What his feelings were on this occasion may be ascertained from his remark on the bad advice given to a court aspirant in the *History of the Interest of Princes:* "He must essay to gain the principal minister of princes," says the writer, "to divert the dangerous designs they may have against . . . ; or else to render those odious who are found *too faithful*, and to ruin them *in any wise*." His lordship pertinently adds, in his

[55] Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 2, Note 1; *Hist. Siege of Lathom House*, p. 512, Bohn's Stand. Lib.

[56] Hume's *Hist.*, vol. vi. p. 420.

own quaint and racy way: "I know who hath licked of this sauce." [57]

In 1642 he received his first commission from the king. It was to recover Manchester, one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and which at that time was held by the rebels, who felt that the thunder-cloud of war was very likely to discharge its bolts upon thriving towns rather than upon the retired parts of the country, and they were therefore prepared for the coming storm. Lord Strange had mixed for many years freely with the people, and a good relation existed between him and the towns of Manchester, Liverpool and Warrington, where he had large interests, and the places were growing daily in importance and wealth. On the 4th of July, in the year just named, he came from Shrewsbury, and approached Manchester with a considerable military force.[58] Various unsuccessful skirmishes ensued, and honourable terms of capitulation were rejected by the popular party. During the siege an express suddenly arrived from Shrewsbury abruptly commanding him, along with his troops, forthwith to repair to the king,[59] owing to the urgency of his affairs. Lord Strange lost no time in giving directions to raise the siege, and within two days, instead of hastening to Chester to his dying father,[60] rejoined

[57] *MS. Observations*, p. 171. [58] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 25.

[59] *Ibid*, p. 59.

[60] His father died 29th September 1642. George, the third and great earl of Cumberland, writing to lord treasurer Burghley, 24th November 1596, says of this earl, who was his nephew: "I hartely thanck your lo. for your care of him who cares not for himselfe." Earl

his majesty; but this peremptory and apparently capricious recal was deeply mortifying to him and to the loyal and wealthy cavaliers of Manchester who had enlisted under his banner, amongst whom were Radcliffe of Ordsall, Barlow of Barlow, Prestwich of Hulme, and Byrom of Salford.

Shortly afterwards, on the "fair pretext" that his presence was of great importance in Lancashire, where he might at least check the influence of the rebels, he states that he was "shifted forth into another air,"[61] having fresh forces assigned him and being deprived of those which he had himself raised, and thereby virtually, in his estimation, deprived of the control of the war in Lancashire. By this indiscreet procedure the county was, as he had foreseen, almost lost to the Crown. Clarendon's representation of this part of lord Strange's treatment by the king is to be regarded as the court version of the transaction. The noble historian says, that "the earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue the restraint, but forced to place himself at a further distance from them, which was like in a short time to increase the number of rebels there."[62] The attempted pacification by lord Kilmorey, lord Brereton and others, between the earl and the town of Manchester after the siege was raised, was strongly condemned by the

William was, at that time, a young man — about 32 — and afterwards became more prudent, cautious and provident. (Whitaker's *History of Craven*, p. 147.)

[61] Seacome. [62] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. ii. book vii. p. 465.

Parliament, and the terms negociated by them were annulled,[63] whilst the Court party appear to have thought that lord Derby had not proceeded with sufficient alacrity and vigour against the enemy,[64] of which fact, however, there is not the shadow of a proof. Nor ought it to have been forgotten, in estimating his military vigour, that if some battles had been lost during the war by over-much caution on the part of a general, others had been lost by rashness and precipitancy. And as regarded the abortive pacification treaty, lord Strange consoled himself by holding that "religious men are not forbidden to maintain peace with wicked men, so that such a peace contains not a conspiracy against the King and the true religion."[65]

The uncertain and vacillating policy of the Court offended the people; and Asheton of Middleton, Holland of Heaton, Holcroft of Holcroft, Heywood of Heywood, Birch of Birch, and many others, who had been associated with lord Strange and had supported his views, felt not only their noble chief, but themselves, unjustly slighted, and from this time they abandoned the royal cause. They joined the opposite party, and resolutely defended Manchester against the cavaliers. Lord Strange keenly felt the defection of his unwise friends, and resented the insult he had received from the Court. He did not attribute it to the king—alas! always infirm of purpose—but to the moral pressure brought to bear upon him by councillors who had no unity of principle or firmness of purpose in their deliberations. With more than his usual

[63] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 62, Note.

[64] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 146.

[65] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 75.

impetuosity, he informed his majesty that if any man living, his sovereign excepted, should dare to fix the least accusation upon him which might tend to the royal disservice, he begged the king's leave to pick the calumny from the man's lips with the point of his sword.[66] Charles felt the retort of his uncompromising subject and endeavoured, with his usual policy, to conciliate him; but these repeated provocations were enough to ruin any cause and to depress the ardour of any man of less steadfast loyalty than lord Strange.

As a proof of his political influence, and of the high estimation in which he was personally held in the North by all parties, the leaders of the parliamentary cause, being aware of the intolerable indignities which he had received from those immediately about the king, and little able to appreciate his chivalrous fidelity to the Crown, or his affection for his sovereign, ventured boldly to offer him a command in their army equal to his own greatness or to that of any of his renowned ancestors.[67] They fully recognized his abilities, and thought that a common interest and a common necessity united him with them; but they approached one who was not a man of "half-decided views" and who never forgot his self-respect. His high spirit indignantly spurned the injudicious proposal, and he informed the men of Manchester, by whom it was made, that when they heard that he had turned traitor he would listen to their proposition.[68] *Timuit Danaos et dona ferentes.* He was not the only instance, during the war, of a nobleman possessing great

[66] Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 199. [67] *Ibid*, p. 200. [68] *Ibid*, p. 201.

talents and an unimpeachable character, that each of the great parties which divided the kingdom desired to secure as an adherent.

The aspect of public affairs was now as bad as it could be; and as it seemed that lord Derby could do little to serve the king and less to please the Parliament, it might have been thought that he would have considered how he could best secure his own interests; but, like a true patriot, he had no selfish interests to promote, and, without any of the gloom of Puritanism, and in spite of the disheartening conflicts of the times, never despaired either of his country or of its institutions, but remained faithful amongst the many faithless.[69]

Being divested of arms and ammunition, and yet still keeping the greater part of Lancashire for the king, he repaired at the urgent request of the gentlemen of the county, not one in ten being at that time opposed to the king,[70] to his majesty at York with the view of securing part of the great military forces there for the protection of Lancashire, investing lord Molyneux and other leading royalists during his absence with full military powers. Disastrous misunderstandings again took place amongst them. Lord Strange's absence and these unhappy differences of opinion were the signals for the enemy, strengthened by the recent acquisition of new and unlooked-for allies, to possess and garrison the towns of Lancaster and Preston, and to overcome nearly the whole county. The most important fortresses were secured

[69] *Priv. Devot.*, Prayer for the King, p. 39.

[70] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 146.

by them, the only exceptions being Lathom house, Grenehalgh castle and Thurland castle. Neither was the Popish queen able, nor perhaps very willing, notwithstanding her fair promises, to render the assistance which her gallant Protestant ally had so reasonably anticipated. At this juncture lady Strange communicated private information to prince Rupert on the condition of the county, and urged him to undertake its rescue:

Monsieur, — I take the liberty of addressing your Highness in order to beseech you very humbly to deign to listen to the bearer of this respecting the state of this district, which has much need of your presence, as your Highness will yourself be better able to judge by his statements, to which I refer you, and beseech you to believe that more than any one else

I am, Monsieur,

Your Highness's very humble and very obedient and very faithful servant,

1642. C. de Tremoille.[71]

On the 16th September 1642 lord Strange was impeached of high treason and proclaimed a traitor by the House of Commons; and an order of the lords and commons, the former being now a nominal body, was issued for his apprehension, owing to his vigorous efforts on behalf of the royal cause in Lancashire and Cheshire, although by a strange perversion of facts he was charged with inciting the people to "levy war against the King, Parliament and Kingdom,"[72]

[71] Warburton's *Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. i. p. 365. Here translated from the French.

[72] Somers's *Tracts*, coll. ii., vol. ii. p. 308; *Lanc. Civil War Tracts*, pp. 35-7.

whilst the object of the king's journey to Chester at this time, was, according to Clarendon, expressly to support and fortify his lordship's proceedings.[73] He has recorded his view of this charge of treason in these memorable words: "The chief cause of the Templars' ruin is conceived to have been their extraordinary wealth, as Naboth's vineyard was the chief ground of his charge of blasphemy. In England we read (Camden's *Brit. in Beds.*) that the lord Stanhope said his stately house at Ampthill was guilty of treason, but not he. And what saith J. D.?"[74]

At this time Bolton appears to have been an object of attack by the royalists, and in October it was proposed that a meeting of gentlemen of each political party should be held in that town to agree to some treaty to prevent actual hostilities, and to promote peace generally in the county. This proposition was readily sanctioned by lord Strange and some of his deputy-lieutenants, but once more it was discountenanced by the Parliament.[75]

On the 2nd February 1642-3 the earl of Derby, earl Rivers, and the mayor and aldermen of Chester assessed the inhabitants in the sum of £500 towards the expense of making fortifications for the defence of the city. In less than a month afterwards sir William Brereton made a fierce assault upon Chester, but was repulsed with the loss of many of his men.[76]

On the 14th February 1642-3 his lordship made a sharp

[73] Clarendon, vol. ii. part i. p. 34.
[74] *MS. Observations*, p. 169.
[75] *Lanc. Lieuten.*, part ii. p. 282.
[76] *Hist. Siege of Chester*, p. 15.

and unexpected assault upon Bolton, and having destroyed the mud walls and other defences "came even upon the mouths of the enemies' muskets," but his men were overborne by numbers and, being repulsed, retired to Wigan.[77]

The following extracts of a letter contain the earl's account of his capture of a Spanish ship near Rossall on the 4th March 1642-3, conveying ammunition for the use of the Parliament in Lancashire; and as there had been for some time a rumour, apparently without foundation, that the Irish would seek aid of Spain, the appearance of the vessel excited considerable alarm. The earl's activity and decision are mentioned by a contemporary roundhead writer, although there are, as might have been expected, various discrepancies in the two narratives of the captured vessel.[78] The earl considered the destruction of the ship of so much importance that he composed a Thanksgiving prayer on the occasion,[79] and his clemency to the ship's crew extorted reluctant, if not questionable, admiration from his enemies.[80]

[77] *Lanc. Civil War Tracts*, p. 79.

[78] Robinson's *Lanc. Warr*, p. 25 (Chetham Series).

[79] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 28. As a proof that tradition is generally founded upon facts, however corrupted by the lapse of time, it may be mentioned that a belief still prevails in the neighbourhood of Blackpool that one of the vessels of the famous Spanish armada of the time of Elizabeth was driven upon the shore near Rossall Point, and that the Spaniards on board resisted the predatory attack of the country people, and also that some of the cannon balls fired from this stranded ship of the armada were found at Rossall, and are still preserved. (*Hist. of Blackpool*, by Rev. W. Thornber, B.A., p. 60, 1837.) The origin of this tradition may be safely referred to the Spanish ship of the Commonwealth.

[80] Robinson's *Lanc. Warr*, p. 27.

The letter also contains an account of the assault and reduction of Lancaster on the 18th March and of the recovery of Preston two days afterwards. In these repeated engagements there is no evidence that the earl was, as Clarendon states, "both unactive and uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity."[81]

The Earl of Derby to Prince Rupert.

Sir, — Your own experience may inform you the misfortunes that wait on war, of which I needs must tell you some happened here very lately; but that I may be rightly understood by his Majesty, I beseech you represent me right unto him.

The Spanish Ship which perished on the shore had divers goodly pieces of ordnance in her, which by reason the enemy had them in possession, I thought good to spoil them if I could, and so did burn the ship; being advised by the Spaniards so to do, they knowing that their Master would well like that any ill might be unto the rebels of our King: I believe most now are useless, but a few may do us great hurt. You were mistaken, Sir, when you wrote to me in your last Letter, that you conceived the Spaniards were prisoners with me, for I set them free, having found them in great distress. I hope they will not make my son worse used when I send him into Spain, for what they have found with me. These cannons, Sir, being carried into the Castle of Lancaster — which is strong for the enemy, having a tower in it which held them divers soldiers, who commanded the country round about them, and [occasioned] many of his Majesty's good subjects, and my good friends, much suffering there — I ventured with some few forces to go there; and by the way, the people had the grace to rise with me, but God knows unarmed (and you know my plaints of old for arms from my Lord Newcastle). When I came before the town I summoned it in His Majesty's name, and the Mayor (as I heard) counselled by the commanders of the Parliament made me so slight

[81] Vol. ii. p. 246.

an answer, after I expected it almost a whole day, that I, enraged to see their sauciness against so good a Prince, made bold to burn the greatest part of the town, and in it many of their soldiers, who defended it very sharply for two hours, but we beat them into the Castle, and I, seeing the tower clear from all but smoke, spared the remainder of that town, and laid siege unto the Castle. There was no woman or child suffered, or any but those who did bear arms, for so I gave directions to my soldiers, except some three or four, that I think as likely to be killed by them. Having got some advantage (which was the first that I ever had since these unhappy times) I thought well to slip on to Preston, a march of twenty long miles; and then I summoned that town, which again did say they were resolved to defend themselves; and so did, having fortified the town, and some three or four hundred men in it, sufficient to give them confidence; it held out but two hours, when I mastered it, by slaying divers of their men, and lost not any of our own to speak of.

Certainly, Sir, if it had pleased God and the King that I had but three hundred men armed, or arms for so many, I could have done some service worth the knowing. And if, please God, no foreign force do come against us, we may be in some good posture yet. But I beseech you, Sir, remember the misfortunes in Lichfield and in Cheshire, as also that it is thought great forces are coming here, which, if they be not followed by Prince Rupert, or some considerable force immediately, will undo us all. I will ask you also pardon for the long relation of a poor matter, and desire your sure belief of my being,

Your humble servant, for all the power of

DERBY.[82]

Preston, March 22, 1642-3.

His lordship's care to preserve property, exercise humanity, and reward his soldiers after these battles, were features

[82] *Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. ii. p. 142.

in his character which did not escape public notice.[83] On the day on which the above letter was written crowds of people entered Preston displaying their loyalty, greeting the earl with feelings full of enthusiasm, and flinging up their hats and shouting out, "God bless the king and the earl of Derby."[84]

The earl, immediately after these victories, strongly garrisoned Warrington, which was unsuccessfully assaulted by the forces of Manchester.[85] He then proceeded with his army to Whalley, and the enemy, dismayed by his valour and recent success, retired before him, Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe and Starkie of Huntroyde being unable, as military commanders, to cope with the earl and colonel Tildesley, although the latter had little reason to be satisfied with the doings of some of their auxiliaries.[86] The earl's activity in prosecuting the war at this time was unceasing, and he might have been influenced in his proceedings by an incident in the *Life of Hannibal*, which he has recorded: "After the battle of Cannes, Hannibal, by trifling and delay, gave the Romans leisure, and they recruited their strength, which led Maharball to say, what was commonly reported, that Hannibal can conquer, but cannot use his victorie; but as Nestor saith, in *Homer*, all things are not given to men altogether; for some have not skill to overcome, others know not how to follow victorie, and a third know not how to keep what they get."[87]

[83] *Lanc. Civil War Tracts*, p. 86. [84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 31. There is an excellent account of the siege of Warrington in Note 66, p. 112 *et seq.*, by the editor.

[86] *Ibid*, p. 32. [87] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv. p. 209.

On the 1st April 1643 Wigan, which had been garrisoned by lord Derby and placed under the command of major-general Blair, a Scotch gentleman recommended to him by the king, was suddenly captured by the Parliament's forces under the command of colonel Holland of Heaton, whilst the earl of Derby was on his way towards its relief, but hearing at Standish, with much dissatisfaction, that the enemy had retired, his lordship returned to Lathom. On the morning of the same day lady Derby had written in great alarm to prince Rupert:

Monseigneur, — I have just this moment received the bad news of the loss of Wigan, six miles from this place: it held out but two hours, being terrified: my husband was twelve miles off, and before he could make ready to succour it they surrendered. In the name of God, Monseigneur, take pity on us, and if you show yourself you will be able to reconquer [it] with much ease and with great honor to your highness. I know not what I say; but have pity on my husband, my children and me, who are ruined for ever unless God and your highness have pity on us.

I am, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

C. de la Tremoille.[88]

Lathom, 1 April 1643.

On the 7th April lady Derby again wrote to the prince:

Monseigneur, — I received the letter with which your Highness honoured me just as my husband had determined on sending General Blaire to explain to your Highness how valuable your presence would be in this province, which is the best route for the Queen; and if your Highness were five or six days here I

[88] Kindly communicated by Mr. Holloway, Bedford-street, Strand, London. The original letter is in French.

Monseigneur

toute asteure je viens de resc-
uoir les mauuaisse nouuelles de
la perte de wigain a 6 mille de
saite plasse elle na teneu que
deux heures et a este frayeu
mon mary etoit a 12 mille et
deuent quis peut estre prest
de la secourir jls se sont rendeus
au non de dieu Monseigner pre-
nes pitie de ~~moy~~ nous et sy
vous aparessez vous pouvres
reconquerir bien aysement
et auec bien de lhonneur pour
vostre altesse je ne say ce que

je dis mes ayes pitie de mon
mary mes enfens et moy qui
sommes perdeus pour tout jamais
sy dieu na pitie de nous et
vostre altesse a qui je suis

Monseigneur

a ladhom
ce i dauriz
1649

tres humble et tres ob-
eissente servente
Ædelatremoille

Fac simile of the original in the Collection of John Young Esq.

A

Monseigneur

Monseigneur le prince rupert

1643.
Aprile 1. Countess of Darby

have no doubt but, with the help of God, the country would be very soon in its duty, and my husband might follow you with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, if agreeable to you, to conduct the Queen whither you may determine. The enemy have received from him a defeat in Chester; they were four to one, as the bearer of this will tell you, to whom I refer you, as also for what has taken place at Warrington. I can assure your Highness your presence here will be more useful for the King's service than you can imagine, as well as for securing the passage of the Queen; and then, this country being reduced, Yorkshire will be astounded. Now, if this were not a thing which, with the help of God, may be easily managed, I have so much regard for your person that I would say nothing about it, but I can assure you that it will bring both honour and profit; and this I beg you to believe, and also what a great advantage it will be to the King's affairs to have all clear between York and Oxford. I beseech you to think over and maturely consider this, and to believe me,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

C. DE LA TREMOILLE.[89]

At Lathom, this 7 of April 1643.

In April of this year all the property of the earl fell under the sequestrating ordinance of the Parliament, and the prey was indeed mighty! He has made no reflections on his loss, unless his feelings are expressed, about this time, in these words: "Deep sorrow wants a tongue. They grieve but little that can express their grief. Soft words and silence are the best means to break anger in an enemy."[90]

After the earl's return from York in the preceding year he found that the tide of affairs had turned, and that terror

[89] Communicated by Mr. Holloway.

[90] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 58.

and dismay prevailed throughout the county. He therefore began as quietly as possible, but steadily and perseveringly, to fortify his house at Lathom for the protection of his wife and children and their immediate dependants. The vast old fortress was amply provided with provisions, ammunition and men to resist the siege with which he foresaw it was inevitably threatened.

In the meantime fresh disturbances, assuming the popular form, induced him immediately to proceed, by the king's command, to the Isle of Man, where he arrived on the 15th June 1643,[91] and on the 18th July he summoned his officers, spiritual and temporal, at Peel town, with representatives from every parish in the island, and personally investigated all the grievances which had been alleged by the people in their petitions and complaints.

On the 30th October at Castle Rushen his lordship issued his "orders," which once more settled some vexatious questions between the clergy and the laity, and, it may be supposed, restored a good understanding amongst them. Nothing could exceed the fairness and impartiality with which the earl met the objections — some of them trivial enough — of this excited people; and the justice and equity of his regulations, and the religious tone in which they were expressed, could hardly fail to produce an impression in his favour.[92] Although the earl was specially requested by the king and queen, as well as by several members of the Privy

[91] *Diary*, p. 3.

[92] *MS. Hist. of Isle of Man*, Knowsley Libr.; Townley's *Journal*, Append., vol. ii. p. 262 *et seq.*

Council, to go to the Isle of Man at this time, as, in addition to local disturbances, the Parliament's ships had seized a vessel which he had there for the defence of the island, and the capture of the island itself was threatened by the enemy, his lordship was accused by his restless enemies about the Court of having abandoned the country, deserted the king's cause, and of having promoted his own interests by sacrificing those of the king.[93] These frivolous and contemptible charges appear to have made a deeper and more permanent impression upon his too-susceptible mind than they ought to have done. He had thoroughly studied the *Life of Cato*, and had formed too despicable an opinion of conspirators, whether foreign or home-bred, to leave his name as an heritage to the body which he proscribed.[94]

Lady Derby, during her husband's absence in the Isle of Man, remained with her children at Lathom House, which was sufficiently supplied with necessaries, and might be considered as a place of security against any ordinary attack requiring something like a formal siege, by a fair body of forces, to reduce it; and she had continued in this state from the surrender of Warrington on the 27th May 1643.[95] It is to be regretted that we have no accurate pictorial view of this vast old feudal castle, and especially as the building itself has long since passed away, as it will always be memorable in the annals of Lancashire owing to the remarkable sieges which it sustained. There are, however, some verbal

[93] *Descript. of Sieges and Battles in the North*, p. 125, 8vo, 1785.

[94] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxiv.

[95] *Journal of the Siege of the House of Lathom*, p. 10.

delineations of its most noticeable features, from which we learn that it was a quaint-looking building, almost a town of itself, encircled by high outer walls, two yards in thickness, strengthened by seven lofty towers, besides two lesser ones, and the great square "Eagle Tower" rising over all in the centre of the castle. It was surrounded by a wide moat, and had a strong gate-tower and draw-bridge.[96]

[96] Thomas, earl of Derby, is described by a poet of the time of Henry VIII. as representing Lathom House, when he quitted it in 1513 for Flodden, as having nine towers within the walls:

Farewell, Lathom! that bright bower,
Nine towers thou bearest on hye,
And other nine thou bearest on the utter walls,
Within thee may be lodged Kynges three.

Bishop Stanley has thus described it in his *Metrical History:*

First he builded faire Lathom Hall out of the ground,
Such a howse of that age can not now be found;
I mean not for the beauty thereof, all onely,
But every office is sett soe handsome and necessary.

Which four lines his paraphraser, R. G., chaplain to William earl of Derby from 1672 to 1702, has expanded as follows:

When place, and wealth, and wisdome call'd home this Earl* to rest,
He viewed his antient seat, and saw the ruines of his nest,
And pulled yt downe, and from the ground new builded Lathom Hall,
So spacious that yt can receive two Kinges, their Traines and all.
Each office hath as well, and for two sides of great receyte,
Two kitchens, butteries, sellers by, with places fit to waite,
Foure stately towers, lodgings of beauty, rich and fairely hunge;
Nothing wants that man could devise, or question with his tonge.
To grace this goodly building, Henry the Seventh came,
Highly commended every thing, and wondered at the frame;
His Royal entertaine was rich and sumptuous, as yt
His followers all admired where he should such provision get.
Eight days his Highness staid, and held his Royal Court in state,
And every day was serv'd in change of hangings and of plate;

* Thomas first earl of Derby.

The place had been rebuilt about the year 1496, and was constructed of timber and plaster, brick and stone, and is said to have furnished Henry VII. with a model for his new palace at Richmond. Lathom was rich in the historic memories of the family for at least five centuries. Here, before the reign of Richard the First, lived the Torbocks, who from that time were called, from their principal residence, De Lathom. Here Plantagenet warriors and statesmen assembled; and here sir John Stanley, the Edwardian soldier, brought his victorious trophies from Ireland, and married the great heiress of sir Thomas de Lathom. Here king Henry VII. visited his pious mother and his sagacious stepfather, Thomas the first earl of Derby and the constable of England. Here came Bessy of York and prince Arthur, and were received with sumptuous hospitality. Here had sojourned the victorious Somerset, Warwick the king-maker, and Henry the good earl of Cumberland. Here had lived

No Statesman, or Head-officer, but his chamber-pots were siller,
Sellers and butteries day and night were open to each willer.
And after all the cost and cates the Country could afford,
Pleasures and quaint inventions as well at bed as board;
The Earl presents the King a guift of value infinite,
Christ and his twelve Apostles, which were wrought most exquisite,
In silver plate, all double gilt, and each a cubitt longe;
This bred strange admiration in all the Courtly thronge.
It was accepted and sent up into the Jewel-house,
And, as we think, remains there yet, it was so valuous.
The Kinge thus satiate with delights, surveying Lathom Hall,
Enamour'd of the frame and forme, and other buildings all,
At his home-cominge pull'd downe Richmont, faire in man's estimation,
And built that new, in all respects like Lathom Hall in fashion.
The entertaine, expence, and guiftes, the King and Countrey's jolity,
In Lancashier will never die, while our Countrey lives in memory.

(Nicols's *Progresses of King James*, vol. iii. p. 403.)

and here were educated, as in "a school of the prophets," William Smith, the liberal-minded bishop of Lincoln and co-founder of Brasenose college, Oxford; Hugh Oldham, the far-seeing bishop of Exeter and co-founder of Manchester school; Nicholas Asheton, the charitable archdeacon of York, and other ecclesiastics of devout and exalted minds. Here had ruled, in what was popularly called "the Northern Court," the magnificent and princely noblemen, Edward and Henry, the third and fourth earls of Derby. Here James the First and his Court had been entertained in regal style; and here prince Rupert was welcomed as a conqueror and a relative by lady Derby, the royal descendant of the houses of Bourbon and Montpensier.

Hard by this venerable pile, tranquilly nestling under the great woods, stood the old almonry with its ancient bedesmen, who did not escape the miseries of the Civil war,[97] and whose dim traditions of Bosworth Field, and of the brave doings of the Stanleys there and at Flodden, were not eclipsed by their recollections of the more recent Reformation of religion and the sad Pilgrimage of Grace. In all these spirit-stirring events their fathers and grandfathers had acted no inconspicuous part.

And almost within sight of Lathom House was the desolate and forsaken pile of Burscough priory, founded in

[97] State Pap. 306-341. On the 2nd October 1646, four of the bedesmen of Lathom complained of their destitution, and earnestly implored the sequestrators to grant them out of lord Derby's estate their £25 a year. There is nothing to show that the reasonable petition was granted.

apostolic faith by some of the ancestors of this great family, five centuries gone by, and long deemed holy by their descendants. In the priory church had once lowly knelt and there reposed in death, the warrior Lathoms; and their own warrior descendants the early Stanleys, when weary of life, had laid down their burden there. Massive stone coffins, sculptured shrines, shattered effigies, proud monuments, still mouldered under the shade of the church, the symbol of salvation being entwined with ivy and brambles, and all these touchingly indicated the old opulence and greatness of the lords of Lathom.

Lathom House had done good service not only to its owners but also to the whole county; and defiant as its aspect was, the republicans regarded it as their own, by anticipation, whilst its noble occupant proudly looked upon it as her city of refuge. It is not intended here to give the details of the sieges of Lathom, as they have been so fully described elsewhere;[98] but it is necessary to give an outline of the proceedings of the combatants when in the

[98] Mr. Ormerod, in his ably-edited *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, chap. viii. p. 155, 1844, has printed the Journal of the first siege of Lathom House. There are two anonymous manuscript narratives of the siege, which have been published, although, with a few verbal exceptions and discrepancies, one appears to be a transcript of the other. The *Journal* published by Harding, Mavor and Lepard, 12mo, 1823, is from the *Harl. MS.*, No. 2074, being found among the collection of the Holmes of Chester, and is the same as that printed by Mr. Ormerod. The other manuscript is in the Ashmolean collection, Oxford, (A. Wood *MS.* D. 16), and seems to be nearly a copy of the above volume. It is published as a sequel to the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, in Bohn's Standard Library, 12mo, 1846.

year 1644 the surrender of the house was demanded by Fairfax and resisted by lady Derby. The garrison consisted of three hundred soldiers,[99] commanded by captains Henry Ogle, of Prescot; Edward Chisenhale, of Chisen-

There is internal evidence to prove that the Journal was written by an eye-witness and by an inmate of the mansion, in the intervals of action before the Spring of 1645-6, when Lathom House, which is described throughout as being entire, had been demolished. The authorship has been referred to various individuals, as colonel Edward Chisenhale of Chisenhale, Lake, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and major Edward Halsall; but the claim of the first and the last is exceedingly problematical. Chisenhale is known to have been a scholar, and there are proofs of scholarship in the narrative, but he was also a Roman Catholic, and there are statements made which would scarcely have emanated from a member of the Church of Rome, and his own proceedings during the siege would scarcely have been related as they are, in terms of high commendation. In 1650 Edward Halsall is said to be of the age of 23 years, so that it is improbable that the Journal was written by a youth of seventeen, the age of Halsall in 1644. Lake's claim to the authorship is simply conjectural.

Seacome expressly states that archdeacon Rutter, afterwards bishop of Man, wrote an account of "the ever memorable siege of Lathom, the defence whereof he had a large share in;" and this account is used by Seacome, and attributed by him to Rutter; and also by Peck in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. c. xii. p. 42. There seems to be no reason why Rutter should not be regarded as the author.

[99] The number of the soldiers was at first 300; one hundred and fifty-nine alternately watched by night, except sixteen select marksmen who kept the tower watch all the day. In the whole siege there were only 9 barrels of gunpowder expended, besides that taken from the enemy; who shot 107 cannon balls, 32 stones, 4 grenadoes, and spent, by their own confession, 400 barrels of powder, lost about 500 men, besides 140 maimed and wounded, and 700 taken prisoners at Bolton. *MS. Book*, Knowsley Libr., probably written by William the ninth earl, as he styles earl James his "grandfather." The lieutenants are given by this

hale; Edward Rawsthorne, of Newhall; William Farmer, a Scotchman; Molyneux Radcliffe, of Manchester (?); and Richard Fox, of Rhodes; whose lieutenants were Bretergh, Penketh, Walthew, Worrall, Kay and Halsall. Lady Derby's principal adviser was William ffarington of Worden hall, esq., who for executing the commission of array and for his zeal in the royal cause had suffered the seizure of all his lands, and the spoliation of all his paternal estate.[1] The household chaplains were Rutter, Baguley and Lake. All the inmates of the house rallied round their noble mistress, and laboured hard in defence of her person and honour. Not soldiers only, but women and children exerted themselves with unwearied enthusiasm in promoting the object she had in view, and Rupert's famous watchword was daily sounding through the halls of Lathom — "For God and king Charles!"

Rutter and Baguley especially were daily occupied, not merely in discharging the duties of their holy vocation, but in accommodating themselves as men of business, with ready ability, to their new and singular position; thus ignoring the assertion of their contemporary fellow-sufferer, Dr. Fuller, that spiritual men are always left-handed in secular affairs. They, at least, inculcated the Christian virtue of patience, which was necessary for the besieged more than for the

writer as in the text, with the exception of *Halsall* whose name is supplied by *Heap*. Lieutenant William Kay was an active person with the horse, and a tenant's son from Cobhouse, near Bury. There is an account of his family in *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxi. pp. 414–17.

[1] See *ante*, p. lxvi.

besiegers, as in such a desperate engagement as this it might have been supposed that the assailants were sure to win in the end. The enemy, however, discovered that artillery and mining did not succeed. Earthworks, batteries and trenches were useless. The walls and ramparts of the castle were impregnable. Above all, there were brave hearts within Lathom House, and yet the siege was protracted and no victory was gained. Under these circumstances Fairfax, in terms not discourteous, demanded a surrender, and promised an honourable and safe removal of the countess, her children and domestics either to Knowsley or to New Park, an adjoining small fortified house belonging to the earl of Derby. Notwithstanding her sufferings and insecurity, as well as the insults to which she had been exposed, her reply was in firm and becoming words. She forgot her hot and sleepless nights, her weary days occasioned by privation and excessive fatigue, and her anxious and self-torturing suspense. For several weeks she evaded a direct reply to the demands of the general, and during all that time of terror and alarm the foundation was being laid, in middle life, of premature age. A conference had been sought by Fairfax, and something she was compelled to say. She said with dignity and courage, no longer using conciliatory or evasive expressions, that she was "under a double trust, of fidelity to her husband and of allegiance to her sovereign, and that without their leave she could not give up her house;" and she requested that a further respite might be granted.

A fortnight after this conference, demurs and delays being

now unavailing, another and a peremptory summons was sent to lady Derby for the immediate surrender and evacuation of the house. The messenger was soon dispatched, with the short and sharp reply, that the owner of the house "had not yet forgotten what she owed to the Church of England, to her Prince, and to her lord; and that until she had lost either her honour or her life, she would defend the place."[2]

On receiving this answer, Fairfax gave order for the formal siege, and on the 27th February, 1643–4, established his quarters round the house. Hostilities were carried on with "dreary indecision" from the 6th March until the 24th April, when Fairfax retired, if not repulsed and vanquished at least worn out, and ordered to other service by the Parliament. He left his orders to be executed by colonel Peter Egerton of Shaw and major Morgan, the latter being afterwards superseded by colonel Rigby, whose name has occurred before. This man was in all respects unfitted for the office, his imperious temper and coarseness of manner contrasting most unfavourably with the better nature and high bearing of sir Thomas Fairfax and with the honourable conduct of Egerton and Morgan, none of whom cared to blight the heart of a noble minded woman and to bring her prematurely to the grave. Lady Derby curtly described this man as "that insolent rebel Rigby,"[3] and yet afterwards showed great forbearance to

[2] Seacome, *Hist. Siege of Lathom*, p. 233.

[3] Seacombe, p. 242. When the lord keeper Finch was impeached in 1640, on the ordinary charges against a royalist, Prynne Bastwick and

his family. During the siege, his son, lieut.-col. Alexander Rigby, fell into her ladyship's hands. She treated him well and exchanged him as a hostage of war, although she well knew that the busy military lawyer, his father, was more eager for her husband's impeachment, attainder, and execution than any other man in the county.[4]

The earl, always wakeful and watchful, had hastened from the Isle of Man, and, deeply concerned at the imminent perils which now beset not only his own house, but his country, sent the following sad but manly dispatch to prince Rupert, on the 7th March, soliciting relief:

Burton having been liberated, and Strafford and Laud being in the Tower, his bitterest enemy was Rigby, the member for Wigan, who trembled at the favourable impression produced on the house by lord Finch's vindication of his proceedings. "Rigby asked—What then, Mr. Speaker, is to be done? You have been told, and we all know it—*Ense recidendum est*, the sword of justice must strike, *Ne pars sincera trahatur*. . . . . It is objected that in *judgment* we should think of *mercy;* and *Be ye merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful.* Now, God Almighty grant that we may be so, and that our hearts may be rectified to know truly what is mercy, for there is the point, Mr. Speaker. I have heard of *crudelis misericordia*, and I am sure the Spirit of God saith, *Be not pitiful in judgment.* If not of the *poor*, then, *a latiori*, not of the *rich* — there's the emphasis. What pomp there is for the hanging of a poor thief for the stealing of a hog, or a sheep, — nay in some cases for the stealing of a penny. And now shall not some of these be hanged that have robbed us of all our property — let us not be merciful to them that are merciless to the whole kingdom. *Fiat justitia.*" — Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chanc.*, vol. ii. p. 571. He meant that Finch should be sent to Strafford and Laud, to share their inevitable doom. Such was the mild and Christian code of the assailant of lady Derby — "That insolent rebel Rigby!"

[4] *Moore Rental*, Introd., p. viii. Note.

S^{R} — I haue followed your highness' Comandes in seruing this worthy bearer Sr Wm Neale concerning his gouernm^{t} of Harden Castle, but he findes a gentleman alreadie in it pretending yor highness' warrant for his dwelling there, with a Ladie and manie of her famelie, which was soe unexpected by him and me that wee both thinke good to acquaint your highness therwith, and desire yor further pleasure.

S^{r} I haue receaued manie aduertisements from my wife of her great distress and iminent danger unless she be relieued by yor highness, on whome she doth more relie then anie other whatsoever, and all of vs consider well she hath chieff reason soe to doe. I was in hope to haue seene yor highness heer yesterdaie being you were soe resolued when Last I had the honor to waite upon you, but not now knowing anie certaintie of your coming hither, and my Lord Biron and others most vnwilling to stirr hence with anie forces toward her without your highness' speciall direction, I doe take the boldness to present you againe my most humble and earnest request in her behalf, that I maie be able to give her some comfort in my next. I would haue waited on your highness this time, but that I howrely receaue litle Letters from her whoe haply a few daies hence maie neuer send me more.

There is now an oportunitie in my opinion to take the towne of Lerpool, which yor highness tooke notice of in the mapp the Last evening I was with you, for there is not at this time fifty men in the garison, neither is there manie more in Warrington, also diuers be drawen forth of Manchester most to Lathome, so that if anie small force be shewed before anie of these townes, it is thought very possible to raise the seige, or soe weaken it, that it maie be much more easie to relieue the howse with such things as it maie want. Your highness doubtless knowes that men are newly Landed heer from Irelande, but all these and twice soe manie are not considerable in compare of your owne apearing, which strikes a terror to that wicked partie and giues Life to the half-dead true-ones, that are banished soe Long from their Countries. S^{r} though it becomes me to be earnest for her that is soe deere to me, and for

one whose great honor it is to be soe neer to you, yet I humbly Laie before you also the great aduantage of his ma^ties seruice if that familie be preserued, and a certaine inconuenience when with that all the Countrie and soe manie well affected will vtterly be lost and not likely to be regained but with a too deer purchass; but Least I be judged too importunate I will only aske God to put into your heart how to help that poore soule which deserves you^r fauour, and soe commit your highness to the Almightyes protection & rest,

You^r highnesse
most humble & faithfull servant

Chest^r ye 7 March 1643. DERBY.[5]

Indorsed: "1643 March 7 E. of Derbye."

Nothing is more indicative of the counsels which prevailed than the cautious and hesitating manner in which the required aid was suggested to be granted, after this forcible and natural appeal. Lord Digby addressed prince Rupert, by his majesty's command, as follows:

May it Please your Highness, — The Earl of Derby hath sent hither unto his Majesty earnestly soliciting relief to his house at Lathom, where his Lady is besieged by the rebels; which, though his Majesty cannot desire your Highness directly to afford him, in regard of the necessity which possibly may be of drawing your Highness, with your forces, suddenly this way, yet his Majesty is so sensible of the gallantry of that lady, wherewith she hath defended her house against the rebels, that he cannot but recommend the care of her relief unto your Highness, so far forth as may consist, in your judgment, with your Highness's present condition, in order to those more important expectations from you. At least, if your Highness be not able to afford her succour without prejudice to the main, which it is supposed you can hardly do at this time, unless a small party will suffice, your Highness is desired, at least,

[5] *Add. MSS.*, No. 18,981, Brit. Mus.

to express unto her both his Majesty's and your own sense of her bravery, and to encourage her to continue her resolute defence, upon assurance that you will take care of her relief as soon as possibly his Majesty's most important affairs can any wise permit it; which heartening may perhaps suffice, since *I do not hear*, otherwise than by my Lord of Derby's servant, *that the place is yet much distressed.* This is all I am commanded at present to write unto your Highness, or have occasion to do, since by Will Legge, within a day or two, I shall give your Highness an account at large of all his Majesty's affairs, resting

Your Highness's most faithful humble Servant,

March 8th, 1643-4. GEORGE DIGBY.[6]

The want of money and discipline in both armies at this time had a paralyzing effect on the soldiers, who, according to colonel Dukenfield, disbanded themselves, returned to the plough, and could not be drawn away.[7] The heads of the cavaliers who kept the garrison at Chester communicated

[6] *Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. ii. p. 384 Note.

[7] *Mem. Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 79. At a general meeting of the Lancashire committee, held at Manchester, April 23, 1644, it was ordered, that for the close beleaguering of Lathom House, additional soldiers should be levied throughout the county, and that every month during the continuance of the service against Lathom, the different hundreds should be assessed to the amount of £4,627. 6s. 4d., except Lonsdale hundred and Garstang parish, which were already sufficiently taxed for the support of the leaguer before Greenhalgh Castle, another seat of lord Derby's. There had hitherto been "delays and excuses," but it was then provided that defaulters should be apprehended, and their estates seized, "for the compelling of obedience thereunto." As a proof of the Royalist predilections of Humphrey Chetham, esq., the high sheriff, he was sharply rebuked by the Parliament for his neglect or refusal to execute the warrants. (Whatton's *Hist. of Manchester School*, Append. No. iv. pp. 285, 289. 4to.)

intelligence to prince Rupert about this time, and corroborated the account he had received of the melancholy state of Lathom House:

May it please your Highness, — We have thought it worthy your Highness' knowledge and this express, to inform you, that since your Highness' departure from these parts, the house of Lathom (wherein your very heroic kinswoman, the Countess of Derby, is) hath, by Sir Thomas Fairfax (who is yet there) been very straitly besieged, and, as we hear, assaulted (notwithstanding any rumours which were to the contrary,) yet so defended by her admirable courage, as from the house there hath been killed divers of the assailants, some prisoners taken, and many arms. By these means she hath occasioned the enemy to strengthen the leaguer, and exasperated their malice. But she hath wasted much of her ammunition and victual, which must needs hasten the sadness of her Ladyship's condition, or render her captive to a barbarous enemy, if your Highness' forces do not speedily relieve her; in contemplation whereof, as also of the happy effects of her gallantry, who, by this defence, hath not only diverted a strong party of the Lancashire forces from joining with those who would endeavour to interrupt your Highness' march and retreat, or otherwise might have joined in one body to have annoyed us here in the division of your forces. We are therefore all bold (with an humble representation) to become suitors to your Highness for your princely consideration of the noble Lady's seasonable and speedy relief, in which, (besides her particular) we conceive the infinite good of all these northern parts will be most concerned and his Majesty's service very much advanced. The happy success of your Highness is now our principal hope and prayers, which, and all your Highness' designs, shall be promoted with the lives and utmost services of

Your Highness' most faithful Servants,

CARYL MOLYNEUX. J. MANWARING.
THO. TYLDESLEY. RICH. GREENE.

Richard Grosvenor.	James Anderton.
Henry Legh.	Will. Walton.
Rich. Molyneux.	John Berimigham.[8]
Ab. Shipman.	

Chester, March the 23rd, 1643–4.[9]

On the same day the earl, writing from Derby to the prince, assured his royal highness that Lathom House was "in very great distress," although, marvellous as it now appears, the prince had been told with a cheery carelessness, that "the siege was but a flourish, and to shoot at deer"![10] This discreditable statement must indeed have been most disheartening to the earl, and still more so to the high-minded lady, who at the peril of her life was maintaining the royal cause, amidst scenes of the greatest personal self-denial and distress. She herself had awakened the sympathies of multitudes, who devoutly prayed that brighter and happier days might come to her, and whose warmest aspirations would be —

> Break not, O woman's heart, but still endure,
> Break not, for thou art royal, but endure.

The relinquishment of the siege of Lathom at this time, by the Parliament, was regarded by the leaders of the republican party in Lancashire, as involving the hazard of

[8] This name is probably mis-spelt, and is unknown in Lancashire and Cheshire. There was a Mr. *Beringham*, a very brave officer, who commanded the Guards of the prince of Orange, and who was a friend of prince Rupert, but it does not appear that he was in England at the time. He afterwards became chief equerry to the king of France. (*Mem. Prince Rupert*, vol. i. p. 450.)

[9] *Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. i. p. 363.

[10] *Ibid*, vol. i. p. 498.

the whole county. They had discovered to their cost that Lathom House had a desperate and too-well provided enemy within, neither could they trust their soldiers if the earl of Derby should appear amongst them, but they did not sufficiently estimate, after all, the precarious security of the place, and the "continuall alarms" in which its noble defender was kept by a strong armed force.

From ye comttee att Manchester to ye Earle of Denbigh.

Right Honble — Wee have received letters from the comittee of both kingdoms of the 6th and from yor Hor of the 11th of this instant, and (though farr unwilling) yet, by reason our feares and dangers are no whitt abated, but encreased, wee must bee enforced (unless wee will give up all) to returne yor honor the like answer as formerly. The seige at Latham house (having a desperate and too-well provided enemy within) continues still not to be broken up, unless we will resolve to begin the whole worke anew. The Erle of Darby in Wirrall, and that part of Cheshire, even all along the river over against us, is very potent, makes inrodes upon us, and keepes us in continuall alarms; besides the secrett plotts within ourselves, striking at noe less than our chief garrisons; and, as reportes give us, the enemy rising in Westmoreland is fully resolved for Lancashire. All the forces both of horse and foote comanded to the seige att Yorke are there still retayned, soe that unles wee should resolve either to breake upp the Seige at Latham or relinquish the frontiers of our county bordering upon the enemy, or both (either of wch would be of noe lesse ill consequence than the hazard of the whole county), we are in no wise able to obey this comand for the assistance of yor Lopp. If it might stand with your designes to march into Cheshire, wee might (doubtles) bee in a fitter posture to joyne with yor honor, which, whether it might not be a worke of as great advantage, wee humbly leave to yor wisdome, beseeching yor honor not to entertayne any opinion

of backwardnes or neglect in us in that we cannot (for the reasons aforesaid, wch are most true and reall) answer yor hono^rs^ expectation, w^ch^, otherwise, were the hearty desire and bounden duty of

Yo^r^ lo^pps^ humble servants,

Alex. Rigby.	T. Stanley.
Richard Holland.	J. Booth.
Robt.^y^ Hyde.	Peter Egerton.
John Holcrofte.	

We make bould further to give intimacion to yor Lo^pp^ that wee feare wee have armed divers amongst us who are enlisted in severall companies, whom (if we should remove our old tryed souldiers out of the County) we durst not trust either in our garrisons, seige, or confynes, especially if the Erle of Darbie should appeare amongst us.[11]

Manch^r^, May 16°, 1644.

At length the king, touched by the unquestionable privations and sufferings of lady Derby, and influenced by the generous offers of the earl, commanded the prince to repair into Lancashire for the relief of Lathom House. The very name of Rupert carried dismay into the parliamentary army. On the 21st May 1644, "horâ decimâ vespertinâ," Northumberland and Maitland dispatched by a special messenger the following letter:

To ye Earle of Manchester.

My Lord, — Wee heare P. Rupert is upon his march for Lancashire with an army of 8000 whereof most horse and above 50 pieces of ordnance where (if hee bee not hindred) he is like to double his forces by the power of ye Earle of Derbie who hath invited him and the ill affected of that countie as is sett down att large in ye inclosed information. This information inclosed, and

[11] State Pap. Dom. Car. I., bundle 316, p. 47.

other circumstances concerning ye state of those p^ts^, make it probable that P. Rupert's march is in pursuance of this design.

* * * * *

Signed, &c.,

NORTHUMBERLAND. JO. MAITLAND.[12]

Derby House, 21 May 1644.

Sent by Mr. Potter. Horâ deciṁâ vespertinâ.

On the 25th May Rupert entered Lancashire by Stockport bridge, and coming into contact with the parliamentary forces under colonel Dukinfield and colonel Mainwaring, defeated them after a short but desperate resistance, the parliamentarians sustaining a loss of 800 men. The moment colonel Rigby heard of the meditated approach of the prince and of the parliamentary defeat, he determined to raise the siege, and withdrew his beleaguring army from Lathom. The republican historian, who knew him well, says, he feared to meet Rupert,[13] and well he might! although he had fought bravely at Thurland Castle in the preceding year. About midnight on the 27th of May Rigby retired with his army to Bolton, and there were great rejoicings at Lathom, because there had been neither compromise nor capitulation. The Eagle Tower still rose impervious in its untouched strength, majestic and unviolated, and the banner of the Stanleys waved proudly over it, whilst their favourite motto — SANS CHANGER — was visible from afar.

There is not only a want of fidelity in detail and of accuracy in relating the facts connected with the siege of Lathom,

[12] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., vol. xiii. fo. 108.

[13] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 49. Seacome says the same, p. 243.

by Clarendon, but injustice is done by him to the individual heroism of the countess. The noble historian says:

Rupert was earnestly pressed by the earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him who was already besieged in his own strong house at Lathom, by a great body with whom he was not able to contend; and to dispose the prince more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises that within so many days after the siege should be raised, with any defeat of the enemy, he would advance his highness levies with 2000 men, and supply him with a considerable sum of money. And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same [promises] to the king at Oxford, from which his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince, hoping that he would be able to dispatch the service in Lancashire, and return with his notable recruits to Oxford. The prince with wonderful gallantry raised the siege at Lathom, with a great execution upon the enemy.[14]

It was at this juncture that lady Derby parted with her jewels, which were pledged for £3000, to fulfil the promise made by her husband to the prince,[15] and there is reason to suppose that she received considerable aid from her relatives at the Hague.[16] Many remarkable incidents and, to adopt an expression of bishop Hall, "many specialities of Providence" occurred during the siege, in which the enemy lost more than 500 and the garrison only six men, four in service and two by their own "over daringness, appearing

[14] *Hist. Rebell.*, vol ii. part ii. p. 476. [15] Seacome, p. 243.

[16] On the 29th September 1657 the countess of Derby petitioned the Parliament, stating that she was "wholly destitute of subsistence," and proving that besides her marriage portion, she had received the sum of 14,000*l.*, which fell to her by the deaths of her father and brother. (State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 668–65.)

above the towers."[17] The fidelity of the earl's adherents, the bravery of the cavaliers, the heroism and piety of the countess, have all been elsewhere narrated with great fidelity. It was not merely of an incidental event that the journalist said of his mistress, "Her ladyship, though not often over-carried with any light expressions of joy, yet religiously sensible of so great a blessing, and desirous, according to her pious disposition, to return acknowledgments to the right author, God alone, presently commanded her

[17] *Journal of the Siege*, pp. 67–69. Lord Derby has recorded the following incidents in connection with the siege.

"When Lathome was besieged in ye year 1644, my Wife, some children and good frends in it, I did write letters to them in ciphers as much in as little compass as I could. I rowled the same in lead, sometimes in wax, hardly as big as a musquet bullet, that if the bearer suspected danger of discovery he might swallow it, and Phisick would soon find it again.

I have writ in fine Linnen, with a small pen, which hath been sowed to the bearer's clothes, as part of the linings.

I have put a letter in a green wound, in a stick, pen, &c.

We maie write upon a man or woman's back or body, and some write with lemons, onions, &c., which writing is not read unless dried at the fire.

Letters maie be shot into a house besieged, either with bowe or musquet.

Timotheus, hauing besieged Samos, came so near the walls that a dart was thrown at him, whereupon he grew much ashamed for himselfe and was used to saie, a General ought never to be too venturous, nor to put himself in hasard, unless it stood very much upon the safety of the whole Armie. Moreover, he said that where good success can get but small honour, and, contrariwise, misfortune a great destruction, wise men in such a case will never look that Generalls should fight like common Soldiers. (*MS. Observations*, pp. 54, 55.)

chaplains to celebrate a public thanksgiving;"[18] for every day the old chapel-bell summoned the garrison to prayers, and its well-known sounds were heard by the roundheads as the music faintly died away in the distant woods of Lathom. Long afterwards the earl gratefully acknowledged, in his own devotions, God's great mercies to his wife and to some of his children (his two daughters) during the fearful siege.[19]

The arrival of prince Rupert was a simple act of justice, only too long deferred. Although a garrison had been established at Bolton, which had become a celebrated Puritan town, from the beginning of the war, yet, being in the midst of lord Derby's territory, a more dangerous place could hardly have been selected by colonel Rigby. There was no repose for him there, not even for a brief season. The very day after his departure from Lathom the royalist pulse was deeply stirred, trumpets were sounding to arms, banners were floating in the breeze, martial music enlivened the scene, and prince Rupert and lord Derby, with a formidable army, flushed by its recent success and eagerly desiring to do battle, were on their way to Bolton, whilst Lathom was left forlorn and deserted by its protectors.

The forces were soon marshalled, but met with desperate resistance from the enemy. Rupert's own infantry regiment lost three hundred men, including the colonel and major, besides many prisoners who are said to have been

[18] *Journal of the Siege*, p. 54, 12mo, 1824; Peck's *Desid. Cur.* c. xi. p. 44.

[19] *Priv. Devot.* p. 35.

cruelly put to death.[20] The reception was not cheering to the cavaliers, and soon roused up their ardour. A council of war was now held by their leaders; and, full of high hopes, they determined unanimously that a second attack should be made, the forces of the rebels confronted, and the town stormed. The earl of Derby, with a dashing bravery which excited the admiration even of the impetuous prince himself, led the assault with two companies of his old soldiers, then under the command of colonel Tyldesley; and with a handful of men, consisting principally of his own Lathom tenantry, who had been daily on parade there and were well trained, scaled the walls,[21] burst into the very heart of the town, and assaulted the enemy, who felt the inadequacy of every barrier to withstand the advances of so brave a leader. The contest on both sides raged with wild and terrific confusion. The royalists were reinforced by their high-mettled infantry, and in less than half an hour lord Derby had captured the town. The action was sharp, short, and effectual; and although greater heroism was never displayed by him, perhaps no circumstance, in all his

[20] Seacome, *Siege of Bolton*, p. 245.

[21] In an entry in his *MS.* vol. xxxiv. his lordship describes the various sorts of *corona* awarded by the Romans, and remarks, shortly after the storming of Bolton (September 5th, 1645), that he who first scaled the walls, or first entered a besieged city, was entitled to the *corona muralis*, which was placed upon the circlet or top, like unto the battlements (p. 268). He knew who had won this military distinction at Bolton, with all the gallant daring of one of the old Roman soldiers, whose achievements, as recorded by Cæsar, Livy and Plutarch, he had carefully studied, and delighted to contemplate.

military engagements, was more deplored.[22] He knew the town well, its extent, its shape, and the amount, character and habits of the population; but his country's enemies were sheltered within it, and to them he could offer no terms of submission, nor deprecate their hostility. Writers differ much respecting the numbers slain; but it was soon known from one end of Lancashire to the other that the popular party was prostrated, and that colonel Rigby, leaving his men behind him, had escaped with difficulty from the town, and, crossing Blackstone Edge, had proceeded to Bradford. It was computed that twelve hundred of the enemy, found within the garrison, were put to the sword;[23] and, although even this large number falls beneath Rupert's estimation of their loss,[24] it may be, and probably is, itself an exaggerated statement. There can be no doubt, however, there was too great an extermination of life on that sad day. Major Robinson, who was probably at the engagement, and not likely to diminish the Parliament's loss, from a refusal on the part of the cavaliers to give quarter to the vanquished, records generally that the royalists slew most of the townsmen,[25] by which he meant the military in the garrison; and he adds, that two hundred prisoners were taken, who were afterwards not "put to the sword," but "dispersed to several places."[26] And this was in ac-

[22] *Vide ante*, p. lxxxi. [23] Seacome, *Siege of Bolton*, p. 246.

[24] Rupert's *Diary* says 1600. [25] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 52.

[26] *Lanc. Warr*, pp. 51, 52. See *ante*, p. xciii. Note, where the number of prisoners is said to have been 700. There were at least two false reports, intended to damage the royalists' cause, circulated in connection

cordance with the humane character of lord Derby. After that terrible engagement, Bolton presented a spectacle well

with this siege, and, strange as it may appear, one of them has been reiterated in our day, and assumed as true. It was currently stated that lord Derby murdered in cold blood a discarded servant named Bootle, who was a lieutenant in the Parliament's army, and who had sought his lordship's protection, after having attempted to betray Lathom house. Mr. Elliot Warburton erroneously calls the man Booth, and adds that he died by lord Derby's sword. (*Rupert and the Caval.*, vol. ii. p. 431.) And in the *Memor. of the Civil War* Mr. Bell says, without having examined the facts, that lord Derby cut down a man who had once been his servant, but who had deserted with the intention of betraying his mistress. This man was killed in the *mêlée* at Bolton, and lord Derby was guiltless of his death. His lordship's own account of the transaction is so clear and positive that no room seems to be left for difference of opinion. The story has been well sifted, disproved, and disposed of elsewhere. (Beamont's *Lanc. Warr*, p. 135, Note.) The other report, above referred to, had no better foundation. Among the slain at Bolton were enumerated, in the returns made to Parliament, four of the Presbyterian ministers, Heyrick, Tyldesley, Harpur and Fogg (Whitelock's *Memor.*, p. 85), and yet, two years afterwards, they all four appeared as prominent members of the Lancashire Presbyterian classis, and some of them were alive, conformed and held their benefices, long after the restoration. (Baines's *Hist. of Lanc.*, vol. iii. p. 60.) "Zealots of all sorts," said Swift, "have a scurvy trick of lying for the truth," and it is clear that these historical zealots sometimes misrepresented, and, I am afraid, at least one of them must be accused of the more culpable offence. (*Lanc. Warr*, p. 51, C. S.) That measures of great severity were carried out at Bolton no one questions, but unhappily the exigencies of the case seemed to demand such; but the temper, habits, and past character of lord Derby would undoubtedly lead all reasonable men to the conclusion that he would not act maliciously, or from passion or caprice, and least of all with barbarity, towards an old servant, or even towards a body of his misguided countrymen, with whom he had always stood well. He has himself tersely said that "a good cause needs not to be patronized by

calculated to stir the compassion of every beholder; and the superior fortune of him who had taken so conspicuous a part in producing it did not prevent his recoiling from the sight of buildings in ruins, lately the centres of business and wealth, and from houses destroyed, once the scene of all the domestic charities of life. He has said that, whilst thinking little of his own life, he was careful on that day of human life, and was not a man of blood.[27] He always appears to have felt that he was forced into the war by an imperious necessity, which impelled him in a great political struggle to assault these towns by force of arms, in order that they might be delivered from the grinding yoke of anarchy and tyranny. This signal defeat was a fatal blow to the ambitious views of Cromwell and the republicans, and was not forgotten when the hour of vengeance came.

The dawn of the 28th of May[28] had witnessed a great army on its way to Bolton, and the sunset fell upon the victors as they returned to Lathom House. The change which had come over Lathom was almost magical. A few days ago misery and destruction appeared inevitable; and now

passion" (*Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 76); and he regarded the following to be "the marks of True Religion:"

1. That takes no pleasure in the expense of blood.
2. That teacheth virtue and honest living.
3. That crosseth not the word of truth.
4. That takes most from the Creature, and gives most to the Creator.

MS. Book, Knowsley Libr., 4to, p. 15, copied March 31st, 1686, from a book of "that Blessed Martyr James E. of Derby."

[27] See his Address on the Scaffold, *post*. [28] *Diary*, p. 3.

life and hope, joy and gladness reigned within, whilst fresh vigour animated many a half-exhausted frame and many a toil-wrinkled countenance without. Twenty-two of the enemies' colours had been conveyed to lady Derby by sir Richard Crane from Bolton; and a gallant band of friendly cavaliers soon followed, headed by a young man of five-and-twenty, the handsomest and bravest commander of his age.[29] He came riding triumphantly into the court-yard to be honoured as it is fitting a hero should be honoured, and the voice of prince Rupert, in half-broken accents, was heard congratulating his heroic kinswoman, the mistress of Lathom House, on the victory which she had won. She displayed no court ceremonial on this great occasion, as her jewels were gone, her robes of state were laid aside, and the triumphs of costume and drapery were forgotten. The deepest affliction that could befall her in wedded life had passed away, and he who, like herself, had been exposed to the perils of war and had endured long separation from his family, was once more within his own baronial hall, where he met fellow-champions of the king, fast friends of the church, and resolute supporters of the great cause which he so ably advocated. As might have been expected, under such circumstances, lord Derby was not unmindful of reli-

[29] On the birth of prince Rupert, 26th November, 1619, the duchess de la Tremoille sent her friendly congratulations to her niece the queen of Bohemia, which her majesty afterwards acknowledged. (*Archæol.*, vol. xxxix. p. 152.) How little could the duchess have contemplated in her infant kinsman the future deliverer of Lathom House and the protector of her own child!

gious exercises, but devoutly "thanked God" for the past "and took courage" for the future.[30]

After the siege of Bolton lord Derby's name stands first as excepted from pardon as a political offender (Oxford, November 8th 1644, and Newcastle, July 1646); whilst on the 10th March 1645 there was a difference of opinion between the houses as to his lordship, whom the lords, quailing before the storm without, thought fit not to except from pardon.[31] It is therefore no matter of surprize, after this decisive victory at Bolton, that lady Derby and her children retired to the Isle of Man, where they arrived on the 30th July 1644.[32] Lord Derby continued in Lancashire with prince Rupert, where, after the protracted but ultimately successful siege of Liverpool, all the county, except Manchester, once more submitted to his lordship. He afterwards accompanied the prince to York, where they found the Scots, along with the parliamentary army, besieging the city. Here the prince and his colleague joined the marquis of Newcastle and determined to raise the siege. On the

[30] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 28, 43. Earl James knew quite as well as his royal ancestor, or as Shakspeare, how a soldier ought to pray, and the earl's cordial utterances would be:

> O Thou, whose captain I account myself,
> Look on our forces with a gracious eye!
> Make us Thy ministers of chastisement,
> *That we may praise Thee in Thy victory.*
> To Thee I do commend my watchful soul
> Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes;
> Sleeping and waking, O defend me still!
>
> *Richard III.*, act v. sc. 3.

[31] Whitelock's *Memor.*, p. 202.

[32] *Diary*, p. 4.

2nd July 1644 both parties, to the number of fifty thousand, drew together on Marston Moor, and the contest was tremendous and the victory long undecided. Lord Derby rallied his men three times, and his valour was as conspicuous here as it had been at Bolton; but Cromwell was victorious, and the royalists never recovered the defeat.

After this great reverse of fortune his lordship joined his family in the Isle of Man, leaving Lathom House, which was still garrisoned for the king, in the possession of colonel Edward Rawsthorne, who had been advanced to that rank by prince Rupert. Sir John Meldrum, writing from Liverpool on the 2nd October 1644, to "the Lords Committee of both Kingdoms," gives an account of the military resources of Lathom, and says:

My Lords, —

* * * * * * *

during my being abroad ye enemy hath taken diverse of our men sleeping upon their guards, and (by what is intercepted) I find them reduced to great extremityes by inviting ye garrison at Latham House, where there is at least two hundreth horse and three hundreth foote, with Col. Vere, who since his defeat at Ormeskirk hath beene there, to fall upon our quarters upon Thursday next, and in ye meane tyme they w^th^in the towne resolve to fall desperatly upon some of our quarters, and to make their retreate towardes Latham house.

* * * * * * *

I have seene two printed diurnalls, in ye one Sr Wm Brereton is highly extolled for ye overthrow given at Ormeskirk, when he was at least 30 miles from ye place, and where there was none of ye Cheshire forces but such as come to Ormeskirk by my order and against his will; in ye other the Earle of Darby is made to come

to raise ye seige before Liverpool, but totally routed by Sir Wm Brereton.

* * * * * * *

Jo: Meldrum.[33]

And addressing the same individuals, from the same place, on the 4th November, sir John relates the success of his negotiations with the earl:

Sir John Meldrum, from Liverpoole, 4 Nov. 1644.
For ye right ho^ble^ the Lords, &c.

My Lords, — Being unwilling to let slip any opportunity which might fall w^th^in the compasse of my judgment for ye reduction of this county to ye obedience of King and parliam^t^, I could not finde a more probable way then to make tryall wth my[34] in ye isle of Man, where my could not reach upon a resolucõn that (if the principal head, the Earle of Derby, could be made sensible of his owne happinesse by declinacion of y^e^) the accessary members might the more easily be tempted to follow ye example, and to this effect I directed two severall ŧres, the one to ye Earle of Derby, wherof I send yor Lo^ps^ the copie, ye answere whereof I have expected this long tyme, if the wind had served; the other to Captaine Rawstorne, the chiefe comander in Latham house, wch did proceed from a ŧre from him, about ye exchange of prisoners, as yor Lo^ps^ may perceive by ye copie of my answere.

* * * * * * *

Jo: Meldrum.[35]

Lord Derby was still the subject of anxiety to sir John Meldrum and the lords' committee, and their proposals to his lordship, whatever they were, met with little favour from

[33] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., No. 12, fol. 17, Letter Book.

[34] These spaces are left blank in the original Letter Book. Were they filled up in the autograph letter by cipher?

[35] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., No. 12, fol. 17.

him. On the 17th of November sir John wrote despondingly from Manchester to "my Lords":

For ye right Honble the Committee, &c.

My Lords,—

* * * * * * *

I have worne out an apprenticeship of sixtene moneths, since I came last from London, and can not finde any occasion wherein I can doe any service, in regard to the pittiefull distractions here, which are more like to encrease then diminish, in regard whereof I have thought fitt to give yor Lo^ps^ notice that (the Lord Fairfax having recalled his horse) there is no further subject of my stay here, except onely ye returne of ye Earle of Derbies gentlemen, whome I expect every hower, and the returne of my servant, whom I sent last, or of ye Maior who carryed ye Earle of Derby his ire, and directed to me. When any further occasion shall offer, wherein my endeavo^rs^ can advance ye publique service none shall be more willing to lay hold of any opportunity then

Yo^r^ Lo^ps^ most humble servant,

Jo: Meldrum.[36]

Manchester, 17 Novemb. 1644.

Writing from Manchester, on the 21st of November, to "the Lords and others of the Committee," the same individual gives important intelligence regarding the views of lord Derby on the altered aspect of his affairs and the miserable insubordination of the army, arising chiefly from its bad treatment by the Parliament. The king's attempt to unsettle lord Derby's right to the patronage of the see of Man seems almost incredible; but his lordship's determination to defend his property and that of the Church, even against the most powerful assailant, is strongly characteristic:

[36] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., No. 12, fol. 17.

My Lords, — I send herewth inclosed the Earle of Derby his last letter directed to me, together wth some scruples made for not giving way to the advice given, wch I hould to be very pertinent, in regard of the importance of the businesse, unfitt to depend upon noe better grounded overture then could be proposed by me, who, upon any occasion of the publique service by private instructions, doe finde my Lord inclynable to give all satisfaction to both houses of parlt. If he may have the least testimony under the hands of the Earles of Pembrooke and Salisbury, or either or both, that (upon demolishing the fortifications and removeall of ye Souldiers from both places, of Latham House and Greenhalgh Castle,) he may expect to have faire and noble dealing. The present miseries of the country (lying exposed to the roberyes and pillaging of the souldiers of those places, both of horse and foote) require a suddaine remedie, wch cannot be redressed at this tyme, by the unwillingnesse of the souldiers of the county, who have beene kept all this while both in Yorkeshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire wthout pay, and cannot be perswaded to stirre from their houses at this tyme of the yeare. I doe finde likewise by the party, that the King hath beene tampering wth the Archbishop of Yorke, for setling of the Bishopricke in the Isle of Man, wch the Earle of Derby is resolved never to suffer; and to this effect hath seized upon all houses and revenues which might be thought proper for such an Establishm^{t}, all wch I have thought fitt to impart to yor Lo^{ps}, and to begge the favour that I may wth all convenient haste know yor Lo^{ps} resoluc̃ons, whether in this, or any other particuler, my endeavours can further advance the publique service, wch is the greatest ambition of

Yo^{r} Lo^{ps} most humble servant,

Jo: Meldrum.[37]

Manchester, 21 November 1644.

Lathom House and Grenehalgh Castle, the two fortified

[37] *Ibid*, fol. 18.

mansions of lord Derby, were still objects of suspicion, being regarded with aversion by the ruling powers, as keeping up garrisons which ostensibly obstructed the peace of the county, or, in other words, portended the subversion of republican proceedings. Sir John Meldrum, who was still with his army at Manchester, wrote to the Government on the 30th November as follows:

For the right ho^ble^ the Lords and other comittees.

My Lords, — I have adventured uppon many accons in this service, w^th^out any private warrant, wch have had (God be praised) noe bad issues, and (amongst others) looking upon the miserable estate of Lancashire by the Garrisons kept at Latham House and Greenhalgh Castle, I resolved, wth the advice of the whole deputy Levetenants, that nothing could conduce more to the tranquillity of the county then the removeall of these Garrisons, as the only obstructions of the peace thereof. And to this effect a letter was drawne and sent to the Earle of Derby, by ye approbacion before expressed, whereunto there hath beene an answer returned, wth another tre, and some private instructions trusted to me, wch are all sent to y^r^ L^ps^, by the like approbacon, about a fortnight agoe. Yo^r^ Lor^ps^ have been pleased to direct another way by dealing with the Captaine of Latham house, wch direction (if it had preceded the former tres) should only have been followed, w^ch^, for any thing wee can understand, had been alike successfull, as yor Lop^s^ may trye by Major Ashurst, who was the party recommended by yor Lo^ps^ to me, and is now in London.

* * * * * * *

Jo: Meldrum.

Manch^r^ 30 Nov. 1644.

"The minde of the committee concerning the earle of Derby" was communicated to sir John Meldrum, "by his own messenger," on the day of the date of the above letter;

and it may be assumed, from the following official despatch, that it was hostile. On the day preceding its date, "the committee of both kingdoms" agreed "that the letter now read be sent to the earl, and that such letters as the earls of Pembroke,[38] Salisbury,[39] or Ancram,[40] should write to his lordship might be sent:

To the Earle of Darbie.

My Lord, — Wee have been given to understand by this bearer (who hath lately in his passage from Ireland beene with yor Lo^p in ye Isle of Man) the inclinations and desires that are in yor Lo^p to procure ye peace of the Kingdomes; and wee doe not conceive any thing likely to conduce more immediately thereto, nor that can bee more acceptable to ye Parl^tes of both Kingdomes, than the delivery upp to them the Lord Digby, Robert Maxwell, late Earle of Niddisdaile, Sr Robert Dalzell, late Earle of Carnwath, Sr Marmaduke Langdale, Sr Wm Huddleston, and ye other persons now in yor power, who have beene the greatest causers of these troubles, wch if yor Lo^p shall doe, wee shall doe our best to procure yor reconcili-

[38] Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke, K.G., lord chamberlain to Charles I., chancellor of the university of Oxford, and first earl of Montgomery, was doubly related to earl James, having married (first) his mother's sister Susan, coheiress of Edward, seventeenth earl of Oxford, and (secondly) Anne, only daughter and heiress of George, third earl of Cumberland, and countess dowager of Dorset. To the sorrow of his noble-minded wife he became a tool of the Parliament.

[39] William, second earl of Salisbury, K.G., was cousin-german of earl James, whose mother was the niece of Robert, first earl of Salisbury. In him the fine gold had become dim.

[40] Robert Kerr, created earl of Ancram in 1633, son of the earl of Lothian, married lady Ann Stanley, daughter of William, sixth earl of Derby, K.G., and widow of sir Henry Portman, of Orchard Portman, in the county of Somerset. He was the confidential friend of Charles I., who, when prince of Wales, was the means of bringing about his marriage with lady Ann Stanley.

ation wth ye Parliament; otherwise, yor Lo^p^ is not to expect from us any further invitac̃on. Wee desire yor Lo^ps^ answere herein by this bearer.[41]

Darby House, 29 November 1645.

By Capt Roger West.

The answer to an application to betray his friends may be easily surmised. They who had not forsaken the king were not likely to be forsaken in the hour of danger by a man of lord Derby's high principle, sincerity, and chivalrous bearing.

On the 16th December sir John Meldrum informs the Government of his proceedings in relation to lord Derby's two houses, and, although terms had been agreed upon by the leaders of both parties in Lancashire, their confirmation by his lordship, at that time in the Isle of Man, was anxiously waited for:

For the R^t^ hon^ble^ the Lords and others, &c.

My Lords,—The miseries of the country people here in Lancashire encreasing daily by the roberyes and plundering of the two guarrisons at Latham House and Greenhagh Castle, and the impedim^ts^ thereby offered to bring any moneys by sequestrations for the maintenance of the souldiers, did persuade the deputy livetenants and my selfe to blocke up both houses, wch hath produced this effect, that the country is secured from such pillaging courses, by a treaty made and interchangeably signed by both sides, as may appeare by ye copies of this treaty it selfe sent to your Lordships, the full accomplishm^t^ whereof is expected daily (if contrary winds do not hinder) by ye Earle of Derby his resoluc̃on wch now must depend upon himselfe. The former pretext, that the officers were put in by P. Rupert, being removed, I shall humbly entreate that

[41] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., p. 95, Letter Book.

yor Lo^{ps} further pleasure be knowne whether the Earle (after the full accomplishm^{t} of the treaty) may not begin his journey towardes London and stay at St Albans untill his Lo^{p} have order from both houses of parl^{t} or from your Lo^{ps} to come to London. Upon significac̃on of yor Lordships pleasure herein I shall take a course for his safe passage through the Kinges guarisons at Ashby de la Zouche and Leechfield, and that his Lo^{p} shall stay at St Albans untill he give notice to the Earles of Pembrooke and Salisbury of his being there. If yor Lo^{ps} doe resolve otherwise I should be glad to know it sodainely that I may hasten towardes Yorkeshire, where I may have some designe for the advancem^{t} of ye publique service, which shall be alwayes the centre aymed at by yor Lo^{ps} most humble servant,

Jo: Meldrum.[42]

Manchester, 16 Dec. 1644.

The debate "concerning the cessation," referred to in the next letter, had probably reference to the withdrawal of the parliamentary forces from Lathom and the cessation of hostilities. As the committee only guaranteed to "endeavour" to secure a safe passage for lord Derby to St. Albans, he would, as a prudent man, remain where he was, and esteem the courtesy and good faith of his political adversaries at their proper value :

To Sr John Meldrum.

S^{R}, — Yo^{r} ire of the 16th instant wee have received, and after mature consideration of it, and debate had concerning the cessation, wee cannot approve thereof. For that which concerns the comeing of the Earle of Derby the comittee will endeavour that what they have written concerning him shall be made good.

Derby House, 26 Decembris 1644.

By his own messenger.[43]

[42] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., vol. xii. p. 158.

[43] State Pap. Dom. Letter Book.

Nothing subsequent to this appears to have been done to weaken the influence of the earl or to subdue either him or his garrisons in Lancashire, and after the lapse of nearly a year Lathom House was still found to be impregnable. On the 27th September 1645 the Government addressed "the Committee of Lancashire" in the following terms:

GENTLEMEN, — We have received yor ^lres and conceive that ye propositions for surrendring of Latham in ye particulars for my Lady Darby's comeing to Knowsley and enjoying her lands, paying the ordinary assessm^ts unreasonable.[44] The Earle of Darby not coming to London and submitting to the parliament, and soe the House to remaine in the possession of —— ——,[45] the Earle of Derbies servants bee very unreasonable, but if such propositions bee offered as are fitting, and which require ye authority of ye Houses further then is granted to you, wee will tender them to the Houses for their approbation, if they please.

For the releasing or detayning ye servants of the Earle of Darby sent with the propositions, and for sending unto ye Isle of Man, wee referre to yo^rselves who are upon ye place.

We have writt to ye Comittee at Yorke to send you a mortar piece and ye shells if they can spare them, that if ye place be not delivered upon reasonable termes, you may reduce it by force, and in the meane tyme we desire you soe to strengthen yor workes as they may be maintained with as few men as is possible, that considerable forces from you may be drawne out upon important service.

Darby House, 27 Septr 1645.

By a messenger of theirs.[46]

After resisting all the assaults of the beleaguering host,

[44] In the margin of the Letter Book is written — "Propositions for surrendering Latham unreasonable."

[45] Left blank in the original letter.

[46] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., No. 16, fol. 236, Letter Book.

and refusing all attempts at capitulation, this famous fortress, practically invincible, was surrendered on the 2nd December 1645 by his majesty's express command. It was starved into submission. One of the enemies of the earl, who had been present at the siege, has recorded, of the inmates, in thrilling words, that "the smell and taste of their garmentes bewraied it."[47] It was lately overflowing with opulence, and adorned with all that art, taste and civilization could accumulate. In direct opposition to the terms of agreement made by the commissioners on the surrender,[48] soldiers now plundered it of all the valuables remaining in it and made wasteful havoc. With wild ferocity they stripped off the lead, dismantled the building, razed the towers to the ground, tore down the gates, and, as far as they were able, demolished or sold every thing.[49] The glory of the

[47] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 62.

[48] See "Tracts on Public Occurrences," in *A Description of Brows-holme Hall*, printed by Thos. Lister Parker, esq., 4to, 1815. "Articles of Agreement made on the 2[d] Dec[r] 1645, between Colonel John Booth, Commander in Chief of the Siege before Lathome house, on the one part, and Colonel Roger Nowell, Col. Edward Veare, Peter Travers, C. Walker and Andrew Broome Gent., Commiss[rs] Authorized to treate and determine for and on the behalfe of Col. Edward Rawstorne, Governour of the Garrison of Lathome, concerninge the delivery up of the House, [on the other part.]" p. 75.

[49] Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 264. Earl James says, "There are two kinds of faults which God doth extremely hate; the one, of those who have no measure or moderation in their revenge, saying with the Idumeans, 'Raze them, raze them, even to the ground.' They would not have left one stone upon another in Jerusalem — IN LATHOM — wishing to say the very Ruins also are perished: the other, of those y[t] so hate their enemies, that though they themselves do die, their hatred yet shall not

carved work was gone, the curious ornaments in their niches were destroyed, the deep oriels were despoiled of their glowing heraldic emblazonry,[50] and none of the an-

die, and they'll leave their heirs, by their last Will, to take revenge." (*MS. Observations*, p. 51.)

[50] Dr. Whitaker states in his *Loidis and Elmete* that many of the ancient armorial bearings of the Stanleys and their alliances were to be seen in the windows of Bowling Hall, near Bradford in Yorkshire, in the year 1816, and that they were part of the spoil of Lathom House. On one of the portraits in glass was the black letter inscription:

Our Lady the Kynges Moder

evidently referring to the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of Henry VII.

Bowling Hall, in 1668, was the property of Francis Lindley of Gray's Inn, esq., vice-chamberlain of Chester, who was connected by marriage with the Lightbownes of Manchester and Levers of Kersall (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xii.); and on failure of their issue male the estate passed, in the year 1760, through the Asshetons, to Thomas Pigot of Manchester, esq., as heir at law of the Lindleys. In 1821 it became the property, by purchase, of Thomas Mason, esq., who removed these ancient and curious heraldic bearings of the Stanleys, about the year 1825, to his seat, Copt Hewick Hall, near Ripon, where they now remain in the possession of his son, the rev. George Mason.

At Newhall, near Bury, the old but forsaken seat of the Rawsthornes, the eagle and child, and some other emblazonry of the Derby family, still linger in the once glowing windows. At Castleton Hall, near Rochdale, formerly the seat of the Holts, is the crest of the Stanleys. The eagle and child are depicted, in rich colours, on thick glass, much older than the seventeenth century, and in a style of art different from the rest of the coats in the windows. At Worden Hall in one of the windows are the arms of Strange of Knockyn, and it is thought some other bearings of the Stanleys, of a remote period.

All these were well-descended royalist families, and the head of each family had followed the fortunes of James earl of Derby, and, doubtless, had purchased these interesting relics after the destruction of Lathom House.

tique beauties, either of architecture or ornamentation, which kings had looked upon, were regarded or spared. It had been like a little town, and was long regarded as the glory of the county. We are told by an enemy that its lords had been esteemed with little less respect than kings; and when the good deeds which the house had witnessed in olden times were remembered, even enemies seem to have lamented its fall.[51]

Nothing more affecting was ever penned than lord Derby's reflections on the ruin of his noble house. He, in his island home, reverted with feelings of deep sorrow to the wilderness state of Lathom. He contemplated its gray shattered buttresses and its many towers thrown down, its huge banquetting hall, and the great chamber of presence,[52] open to

[51] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 62.

[52] It was in this "grete chamber of presence, after dynner," where, if there had not been the feast of reason and charity, there had, doubtless, been the feast of county news and controversy, and if not the flow of soul, at least copious potations of that undeniable strong drink celebrated by the old Knowsley comptroller (*Stanley Papers*, part ii. p. 12), sate Edward, the third earl of Derby, surrounded by his council, on the 14th March in the year 1555. At that time the earl did not object to Italian supremacy in ecclesiastical matters in England, and before him was arraigned an honest Lancashire man who had strongly objected to the same. He was questioned by the earl and his council on deep and mysterious matters touching points of faith, and not giving satisfactory answers, was dismissed to "the Gate-house prison at Lathom." This was George Marsh of Dean, afterwards the glorious martyr.

And here, in the "alta camera, vulgato nuncupatur, ye dyninge chamber at Lathom," a few years afterwards (31st July 1567), when the fire of persecution was still intense, sate the same powerful earl, no longer admiring Italian supremacy in England, but thinking on the subject as George Marsh had thought. And there stood before him

the sky, and its long galleries, wide staircases and unfurnished rooms, all deserted. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that he thought of some of the famous scenes which had been witnessed there, and of the happy days of his own childhood, and of the many treasured associations connected with his early home. Now the winds wailed through its desolate courts, and strangers came to look upon its ruins. We do not wonder that he wrote a special devotional service on the occasion, or that he exclaimed with the most affecting pathos: "Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burnt with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste! O how sits the city solitary, which was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces! Her adversaries are the chief; her enemies prosper."[53] These and other eloquent passages of Holy Scripture, which he applied with so much feeling to his own altered circumstances, were singularly apposite, and his own position would appear to him forcibly to illustrate the

and his council two misguided but learned Lancashire men, strongly suspected of disloyalty to the queen, and of favouring the Italian supremacy, and they, too, were roughly handled touching spiritual matters. These were Laurence Vaux, B.D., of Blackrod, the deprived warden of Manchester, who afterwards died in prison, and William Allen, D.D., of Rossall, afterwards cardinal of England, and its enemy. Who can describe the crushed feelings and deep emotions, and alas! the harsh and intemperate zeal even of thoughtful and religious men, which that "greate Chamber of presence" had witnessed! *Lanc. MSS. Fasti Eccles. Mancunien.*, Vaux. Marsden's *Life of George Marsh*, 12mo, chiefly from Fox.

[53] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 31, 34.

sacred text. His coronet to him, at this time, was indeed "a lonely splendour," although there is nothing to prove that he was unbecomingly depressed by his adverse fate, any more than that he had been unduly dazzled by some of his military successes.

Life is made up of a multitude of minute actions and common duties, and is seldom varied by any thing which calls forth the great and heroic. We now see lord Derby again in domestic life, and living with a reduced establishment, for five or six years, in close retirement in the isle of Man.[54] Here he maintained what he deemed to be his liberty against resources and discipline hitherto unparalleled, whilst political intrigues, party conflicts, and the direct as well as indirect attacks of his enemies, were ineffectual. Castle Rushen, a dreary mansion with a turbulent sea in the distance, whose waves since Creation's dawn had beat in vain against the desolate and invincible mound on which it was situated, now became his home, or, as some might have regarded it, his prison. And there is little doubt that he would often contemplate in his solitary dwelling the wild shapes which the wind-tossed waves assumed, and the various and curious combinations and effects of sky and water which marine scenes, especially in the isle of Man, so frequently present. Here he entertained all persons of distinction whose misfortunes

[54] The earl has observed: "Aristotle well notes that the nature of every thing is best seen in its smallest portions, and hence he traces the nature of a Commonwealth first in a family and in the simple conjugation of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, and concludes that in every cottage there may be happiness." (*MS. Observations*, p. 4.)

"cast them that way;"[55] and lord Digby has given an interesting account of the social reception he met with in the island, after the battle of Marston moor, from the earl and his self-reliant countess.[56]

The names of few of his personal friends in the island have been recorded; but there can be no doubt that archdeacon Rutter[57] and captain Grenehalgh[58] would be always

[55] Lloyd's *State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 461. [56] Rushworth.

[57] For some account of Samuel Rutter see earl James's *Hist of Isle of Man*, c. xiv. pp. 32–3, and *Stanley Papers*, part ii. p. 200 Note. He was probably a native of Lancashire, and his family had been connected with the household of the earls of Derby. He was educated at Westminster school (Welch's *List of Westm. Scholars*, p. 29); elected thence, in the year 1623, to Christ Church, Oxford; nominated archdeacon of Man in 1640 (Le Neve's *Fasti* (Hardy), vol. iii. p. 329); appointed prebendary of Longden, in the cathedral of Lichfield, being M.A., 24th November 1660 (*Ibid*, vol. i. p. 614); and confirmed bishop of Sodor and Man 8th October 1661 (*Ibid*, vol. iii. p. 327). He was domestic chaplain to the seventh earl of Derby, and more entire confidence could not be shown by one man towards another than the earl showed towards his chaplain. He was present at the first siege of Lathom House, and was the chosen friend, counsellor, and afterwards chaplain of the noble-minded countess, during all her troubles. He was a disciple of the school of Laud, although there is nothing in his, or in his master earl James's creed to show that they widely differed from their contemporaries and fellow-sufferers Sherlock, Hammond, Sanderson, and Taylor. The widowed countess clung to him as the friend of her lord, and it was principally through her influence that he succeeded to the bishoprick. His old pupil, the eighth earl, had been desirous that Dr. John Barwick (*Memoirs*, pp. 245–300) should accept the see, which was regarded as a sort of banishment; but whilst he hesitated, the dowager lady Derby induced him to waive his claim to it, since, as she said, he might look for better preferment from his Majesty, and she was very desirous to prefer her chaplain, Mr. Samuel Rutter. Dr. Barwick easily gave way, much rejoiced that it was in his power to

at hand to counsel him in his difficulties and to sympathize

oblige so great a person. Rutter was consecrated March 24th 1660–1, the last day of the Restoration year.

When the commissioners of earl Charles made their appearance in the isle of Man, in the autumn of 1660, Dr. Sherlock, rector of Winwick, being one of them, their ecclesiastical work seems, as far as may be judged by the records, to have gone off more quietly than might have been expected, and this may be attributed to the influence of archdeacon Rutter. On an early day they summoned the clergy to exhibit their letters of orders and of presentation, and they lost no time in enforcing the use of the Prayer Book, and catechising, and of observing feasts and fast days, and among the latter not only the 30th of January, but also the 15th October, being the day of earl James's martyrdom, for which a special service is promised. And it is afterwards added, "This pious Order of our Honble Lord, Bishop Rutter commends to the several Churches and Clergy, and commands the Wardens to see to its execution." Mr. Keble says, perhaps the Act of Uniformity, not mentioning in the body of it the isle of Man, had not been so accepted there as to take away from the bishop the common prerogative of his order to regulate (within certain limits) the details of divine service in his own diocese; as we find that in the abeyance of the bishoprick, at the Restoration, the archdeacon and his commissioners made an order for adding a commemoration of earl James's martyrdom to the state services. Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, part i. pp. 132–233. The prayer composed by earl James for the loyal fort in the isle of Man was used daily in the ordinary service of the garrison, but probably not in the parish churches (*Private Devot.*, p. 51).

The portrait annexed, which has not hitherto been engraved, is from the original painting, by W. Dobson, in lord Derby's collection. Rutter's dark eyes are full of animation: — his smile is half playful and half pensive, but evidently full of kindliness. There is an absence of all that is harsh or censorious in the expression of the countenance, and it may well be imagined that he would be a humorous companion and a pleasant friend, nothing being able to sour his genial temper, or to lead him to despond under the most trying reverses. His life was consistent. He was grave and devout, temperate and dignified, and

with him in his family vicissitudes. His own pen has gra-

unfortunately was a worn-out, though not an old, man when he became a bishop, as he died in the isle of Man on the 30th May 1662 (Le Neve, Hardy, vol. i. p. 327). Seacome, who gives him a very high character for prudence, goodness, and moderation, says that he died in 1663, in which year his successor was appointed, p. 606.

[58] (*Page* cxxx.) John Greenhalgh was "a gentleman well born," being the only son of Thomas Greenhalgh, esq., of Brandlesome Hall, in the parish of Bury, and of his wife Mary, daughter of Robert Holte, of Ashworth Hall, esq. He lost his father in the year 1599, and his mother afterwards marrying sir Richard Assheton, of Middleton, knt., he seems to have been brought up in that family. His education was carefully attended to, and he appears to have had the advantage of foreign travel. In 1616 he succeeded to the Brandlesholme property, which lord Derby called "a good estate," on the death of his grandfather, John Greenhalgh, esq., "and he governed his affairs well." He was a deputy-lieutenant and justice of the peace for the county, and had served his country in a military capacity, probably before the civil war. He had three wives: 1. He married Alice, daughter and heiress of the rev. William Massey, B.D., rector of Wilmslow, by whom he had issue two sons and four daughters; 2. He married Mary, daughter of William Assheton, of Clegg hall, Rochdale, esq., by whom he had issue one daughter, Katherine, who became the wife of James Assheton, of Chadderton hall, esq.; 3. He married Alice, daughter and coheiress of Mr. George Chadderton, of Lees, near Oldham, but had no issue by her. He was appointed governor of the isle of Man in 1640, and died, after the battle of Wigan lane, at Worcester in 1651. A fine portrait of him, from an original picture, was published in 1842 in chromo-lithography, and dedicated to the earl of Derby. He is represented in armour, with a crimson silk sash over his right shoulder, and a falling lace cravat with coloured embroidered ornaments at the ends. He has a handsome, thoughtful face, light brown flowing hair, florid complexion, and appears to be about 40 years of age.

The writer of the following interesting "Note" is unknown, and, unfortunately, there is no date to it; but the facts recorded clearly refer to the governor of the isle of Man, and the writing may be

phically described the various accomplishments and merits

assigned to a period not long antecedent to the siege of Lathom. A James Grenehalgh, of Chamber hall, in the parish of Bury, is named in 1599 as a lessee of the earl of Derby, but nothing more is known of him. (*Stanley Papers*, pt. ii. p. 167, Note.)

"*A Note* of such charges as I have been att at all tymes of captn. Grenehalgh, and his men, and horses and doggs.

"*Impr.* I serued him 9 yeares at Brandlesome hall, and oftentimes led in his corne and hay wth my owne draughts, and had nothing for my paynes, beinge that he was my kynsman; and all that nyne years, and many yeares before, euer since he came home from his trauells, euery yeare twyse or thrise by a fortnight, three weekes, or a month tog^r^, nev^r^ under a fortnight tog^r^, him and his three men, when he came to receiue his rents, and his two litle sonns Richard and Tom, and sometimes gentlemen, falkeners and their haukes and spaniells; and at that tyme when my lord Strange came forth of the Hague, and lay a matter of three months at Knowsley, my lady Strange being away, he would haue brought two gentlemen at a tyme with him to my pore house, and all his men and theirs; and when he went awaye for the Island there was a gentleman and his man lay wth him at my house a good whyle or [before] they went when [after] my Lord was gone. And lykwise he invited my lord Strange at one tyme, and all the knyghtes and dyvers gentlemen more, when they was at Latham house, to a bankett at Brandsleholm, and exceptinge a bankett of sweetmeats and some wyne, wth a buck from Knowsley that was baked, but we was at all the cost of bakinge of him, saue onely the pepper; and we lykewise furnisht him wth gamons of bakon, and great peeces of hunge beefe, and greate dishes of butter, wch my wyffe she caused all her neighboures to p'vyde her for that purpose, wch she was at the cost of, and oure pewter and linninges, and our people to atend them, neglectinge all our owne busines in harvest and many other throng times, wch we coud ill haue spared; and lykewise when he and his men when they lay at my house, all my people it was most of their worke to atend them. I also kept him some six or seven horses all one somer when he was in the Island, and most of a wynter after all the hay were gone at Brand^l^ hall and lykewise kept his man Will. Kaye two halfe yeares together besydes all other tymes which he sayd I shoud be paid for his table; and besydes he sent Will. Kaye to Maulton faire to

of these two excellent men, who possessed his entire confidence, and all who are familiar with his lordship's *History of the Isle of Man*[59] cannot fail to revere their memory.

In "the blessed isle of Man," as he delighted to call it, he had ample leisure for reflection; and we find him, not seldom, withdrawing from the social circle to dwell on the long-buried past, to muse on the future, and to prepare for the more than probable dangers which awaited him, for he did not venture to hope that he had experienced the worst. He also devoted much of his time to studious and sedentary pursuits, and notwithstanding his constitutional energy found no tedium in quiet and repose. Several manuscript volumes, being chiefly common-place books, of great size, still remain

buy horses for my Lord for the Island, and he came and brought a man and foure horses and staid, them and theire horses, two or three dayes before they went for Lerpool, and I found them hay and corne whyle they steyd, as Mr Heywood and Mr Rawstorne, and all our neyghbours can testifye. Therefore I may appeale to any reasonable people what charges all these thinges might lye me in: before I did him that service he kept a man there at Brands^e^, and gave him 4^li^ a yeare, standynge wages, and halfe a crowne a weeke board wages, and often tymes found him wth beere and bread, besydes; and often tymes when they broke vpp howse and went to the Island to liue, they woud leave him much good victualls behind them, wch woud have served him a great whyle, and lykewyse kept him a yonge horse to run in the groundes to make profitt off; besydes, he found him another horse to go about his busyness, and also kept him a heiffer, or some other yonge beste, at Pilkington, and had the measure of all the corne forth of the barne into the garners, and forth of the garners, if there was any overplus, he had that to himself; but I had nothing for all my work."

Indorsed: "My cosin James his reasons for some Allow^ce^ out of the sum due to me uppon Accounts." (*Lanc. MSS.*)

[59] *Hist. Isle of Man*, c. xiv. p. 32, c. iv. p. 12.

to attest the assiduity of his reading and the use he made of it. He says:

> A man must not only consider how daily his life wastes, but this also, that if he lives long, he knows not how long his understanding shall continue able; therefore, while I have wit and leisure, I would use both, that when I have less of either, I may have less trouble also. If the isle of Man gave me as much wit as leisure, I should be doubly beholding to it; but in the mean while, at least, I do use the wit of others to sharpen my own, and when I become more dull I shall yet have content in reading what I have written.[60]

At this time, he composed some of his Practical Expositions of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue and the Eucharistic Service, and also some of his treatises on Natural Theology, as well as many of his Devotional works.[61]

He found, like Scipio, that solitude had no loneliness for him.[62] Like the Penseroso of Milton, he was often "hid from day's garish eye," and found his thoughts concentrated and his mind enlarged and more fitted for study in silence and gloom than amidst the distractions of day and the interruptions of external objects.[63] He has recorded, that towards the end of September, in the year 1647, with the rolling sea and splashing surge in the distance, as he was reading alone, in his chamber at Castle Rushen, about midnight, blood fell, in a very strange manner, upon his book.[64] There is nothing in his Meditation written on the occurrence, which would show that he regarded it as an omen, although

[60] *MS. Observations*, p. 141.

[61] See a list of them in the Appendix.

[62] See *ante*, p. xxii.

[63] D'Israeli's *Literary Charact. Illustr.*, vol. i.

[64] *Diary*, p. 4; *Priv. Devot.*, p. 30.

such was the superstition of the age, that events of unusual magnitude were considered to be announced by marvellous and startling portents. Laud's *Diary*, and almost every *Diary* of the period, are full of similar notices, and in some families it was considered that omens of a peculiar kind were a sort of heirloom. Whether the *gutta sanguinea*, on which Cardan has dilated, was supposed to be that of the Stanleys, when some dark shadows affecting their fates and fortunes loomed in the distance, does not appear; but the historical one, with which we are best acquainted, is of another class:

> Stanley did *dream* the Boar did rowse our helmes,
> But I did scorn it and disdain to fly.

Lord Derby's constitutional and physical characteristics are not very clearly ascertained, and although at this time he "was very sad and pensive,"[65] and was also "alone and in the dead of night," and a little before had been writing on the subject of hypochondriasis, there is no proof that he was despondent, or that the observations were applicable to himself. He says: Aristotle remarked that the greatest wits are the most subject to melancholy, and that Socrates and Plato, and in his latter years Lysander, were equally subject to the malady.[66] There is, however, a sober sadness in earl James's countenance in almost all his later portraits, which, in addition to some remarks made by him on being "born under an unlucky star,"[67] and on the reverses which had

[65] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 30. [66] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 100.

[67] Seacome. Astrology, and the calculation of nativities, probably formed no part of earl James's studies any more than of Beattie's, the latter of whom nevertheless sang —

befallen him, would seem to justify the conclusion that he was constitutionally predisposed to melancholy. The action of the mind upon the body has always been well known to medical science, and the sensitive mind of lord Derby had probably been over-wrought, the nervous system intensely excited, and the whole frame too much depressed, not so much by study as by the harrowing scenes which he had witnessed far beyond the limits of that Castle Rushen

Chamber, dead to noise and blind to light,

to employ a phrase of sir Philip Sidney, to render it necessary to call in the aid of the marvellous, or even of physical organization, to account for an occurrence which probably warded off an attack of apoplexy, brain fever, or the appearance of some spectral illusion.

If there was one place on earth more than another regarded by this great man as a paradise, it was his insular home. Its soil was sterile, and its physical peculiarities were forbidding. It had few romantic scenes, or sunny mountains, or shady groves; and yet to him it was an elysium, and his imagination revelled in it as in the isles of the blessed. Its hereditary kings had large powers vested in them, which had always been exercised with moderation, but any exercise of authority by its greatest and best king was naturally regarded with suspicion by those who had taken what he called "that dangerous oath and covenant,"[68] and was not unlikely to meet with resistance: but it has been seen how

Ah, who can tell how many a soul sublime
Hath felt the influence of malignant star.

[68] *Hist. Isle of Man*, s. xii. p. 28.

he disarmed opposition, and in what manner he amended the laws of the island. His prayers for its prosperity and happiness are amongst the most fervent and impressive in his Private Devotions — and very naturally so, for this little island was to him a haven in his distress, and here his family obtained food when smitten with want. It had occurred to the queen of Bohemia, prior to the marriage of her kinswoman with lord Derby, that one advantage of the union would consist in the offer of a sure and safe refuge to oppressed Protestants in the Isle of Man, which it seemed, to her, they might require at the time when Richelieu was wresting concessions from the Huguenots and pursuing his hated policy for their reduction;[69] but her majesty had not contemplated its use for nearer relatives. Lord Derby found the population small, and its increase was small. Their ordinary pursuit was agriculture, the most natural of all modes of gaining a livelihood; but his lordship was a political economist, and far in advance of all the Maccullochs and Mills of his day, with the exception of lord Strafford, and would have done for the improvement of Mona what lord Strafford perceived might have been done for Ireland. He saw that the island, with all its capabilities, would never flourish until trading, merchandise and shipping[70] were introduced; and, thus improving agriculture and fostering commerce, he desired to create employment for the people and to open new markets for the produce of their industry.

[69] Green's *Princesses of England*, vol. v.

[70] *Hist. Isle of Man*, ch. vii. pp. 17, 18; also *MS. Hist. of the Island*, beginning A.D. 1205, Knowsley Libr.

In many of the best attributes of humanity the inhabitants excelled, and their devoted conduct towards their lord and his magnanimous wife, after they became acquainted with their worth, must always be mentioned with respect; but there is so little perfection in the human character that we look for shades in the picture, and the earl himself has not omitted them. He soon discovered their weaknesses. He found that they possessed little energy, no enterprise, no firmness, and that they were "great wranglers," "loving much to speak much," "disposed to prattle like women," but after all, if left to themselves, wishing to let things remain as they found them, and generally satisfied with such elements of civilization as they possessed. There were political agitators amongst them, who menaced, at first, the earl's authority and policy, and feebly sought to introduce their own views of government. These men were met by the earl with neither insult nor austerity. He obtained accurate information through his agents, who are called by him "spies," regarding the real objects and designs of the leaders of the movement, and he found that prompt and decided measures were necessary.[71] It has been already seen how reasonably he acted towards all the inhabitants; but some of the disaffected, who sympathised with the extreme party in England, and who aimed at the royal as well as the insular government, were apprehended, tried, convicted and imprisoned, and the threatened insurrection was suppressed.

[71] Rawlinson's *MS.*, b. 515, fo. 78; Bodl. Libr.; the earl of Derby's *Orders for the Isle of Man.* These are printed in Mills's *Laws of the Isle of Man.*

He thus saved the island from ruin, and maintained a steady hold on the affections of the respectable part of the inhabitants. His own affection for these people was unbounded, and yet his rule over them has been absurdly called "the reign of terror" and a "despotism,"[72] although it appears to have been forgotten by the writer who makes the assertion, that he has himself stated that when the island was betrayed by Christian the only request made by the inhabitants to the Parliament was that "they might enjoy their lands and liberties as they formerly had" done under the insular king.[73] If he were, under any circumstances, apparently despotic in his rule, he was assuredly a wise and beneficent despot, sympathising with the pursuits and seeking to advance the best interests of his people, and it is obvious that all the well affected amongst them knew and admitted the fact. The truth is that the government of the island was from first to last paternal and domestic, deferring throughout to the rules of the Church.

It has also been captiously objected against the earl, by one who had mistaken his character, that he was "studious of Kingcraft,"[74] a faculty which was assuredly never possessed by the Stuarts,[75] and the exercise of which earl James wisely avoided;[76] for whilst he held the island for his sovereign as well as for himself he was able to assign good reasons for not assuming the royal prerogative with which he

[72] Introd. to *Peveril of the Peak*, Append., p. 16, 8vo ed.

[73] *Ibid*, Append., p. 16. [74] *Ibid*, p. 27, *note*.

[75] James the First however especially prided himself on his knowledge of this science.

[76] *Hist. Isle of Man*, pp. 4, 15.

was invested, whilst justice and equity, the love of liberty, and the happiness of the people marked his rule. He is also too hastily charged with acting upon Machiavellian principles.[77] It is true that he had read the great writers on government, and was thoroughly acquainted with the writings and policy of the perfidious Florentine, and has left his views of both on record, but they are strongly opposed to the precepts of Machiavelli. He possessed a keen and generally a just insight into human motives and character, and his acute power of observation, quiet irony and shrewd humour are especially conspicuous in his notes on the isle of Man; but there is, if his circumstances are candidly regarded, nothing like dissimulation in his proceedings towards the Manxmen; no quibbling, no subterfuge, no treacherous tyranny. He was surrounded by many crafty adversaries, and in self-defence he employed men whom he called "spies" to ascertain their objects and views; but he nowhere maintains that deceit is expedient or justifiable either in religious or secular matters, and instead of there being any evidence to prove that he systematically acted on what are called Machiavellian maxims, or recommended them to others to be adopted in governing a people, there is much to prove, even against appearances to the contrary, that he entirely repudiated them.[78] It has been argued that he made no secret of his views, inasmuch as he referred to Machiavelli, and quoted an Italian proverb;[79] but let

[77] Heywood's *Moore Rental*, p. 136.

[78] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 25; *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 44, 110, 111, 112.

[79] Heywood's *Moore Rental*, p. 136.

it be remembered that in one of his celebrated speeches in the commons, sir John Eliot, his great popular opponent, appealed to Machiavelli, and whilst the stern patriot rightly regarded him as seeking by his writings to advance all tyranny, yet he was not afraid to quote the Florentine and expressly to approve of his direction that kings should themselves dispense courtesies, and leave injuries and punishments to others.[80] Lord Derby had himself not only made a note of that identical remark, but it is on record that, in a great emergency in the Isle of Man, he prudently acted upon it.[81] His aversion to the rules of casuistry, as adopted by the Jesuits, his expressed disapprobation of *Il Principe* and the *Discorsi*, and his singular love of truth, were conspicuous features in his character, as might have been expected in the man who "reverenced the conscience as his king," and who strongly condemned the bad morality and weak reasoning even of archbishop Williams, when he told the king that he had two consciences, a public and a private one.

Lord Derby has been judged too much by the feelings and principles of our own times, and due allowance has not been made for the circumstance of a certain portion of what was called Statecraft, or, to adopt a more odious name, Machiavellianism, having been invariably applied to politics by every statesman in office in England from the time of queen Elizabeth to at least the year 1640, without any exception. There is nothing in lord Derby's proceedings

[80] Forster's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 265.

[81] *Hist. of Isle of Man*, c. xi. s. 4, p. 26; *MS. Observations*, p. 18.

in the Isle of Man which any of queen Elizabeth's great counsellors would have hesitated a moment in putting into practice as a mere matter of course; and most of these men were, except Leicester, moral and religious. It might perhaps have been more in accordance with lord Derby's noble character, if he had taken up Isaac Barrow's grand axiom, "a straight line is the nearest way in politics as well as in geometry," as his guide in all his dealings with his Manxmen; but it is not contended that he was in all things above the prejudices of his time, or that he escaped errors and imperfections.

The earl entertained through life a marked aversion to multiplying oaths. He had avoided the high commission oath, the star chamber oath, and the oath of inquiry, with all of which archbishop Laud and the lord keeper Coventry had been concerned, and he refused the negative oath, and, though more than once importuned, the Scotch oath, commonly called the solemn league and covenant. This last was a series of political pledges declaring that the true religion was only to be found with one political party, and by which episcopacy was abolished, as far as a human law could abolish it; but by which the Presbyterians, then in the ascendant, had provided that the monarchy and peerage should be maintained. So strong was the earl's feeling on this subject that he made it an express point of thanksgiving to God that he had been preserved from taking the oaths by which the government required him first to renounce his allegiance and next his religion.[82] Many of his writings prove how in-

[82] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 35.

timately he was acquainted with the Prayer Book of the English Church, and how much he reverenced its catholic spirit and primitive temper, but on the day Laud was condemned to die the Puritans had voted that it should be replaced by the Directory, and its use, both in public and private, was forbidden under heavy pecuniary penalties and lengthened imprisonment. The earl had accepted its articles, but neither "with a sigh nor a smile," and in the Isle of Man he availed himself, along with all the inhabitants, of its daily teachings.[83] He fully entered into the observation of the king, that "hardly can the pride of those that study novelties allow former times any show or degree either of wisdom or godliness;"[84] and there can be no doubt that he and archdeacon Rutter did more to settle the Church in Man than even Sherlock and Barrow, who nevertheless had carefully prepared the place for Wilson, a man after earl James's own heart.[85] It will have been already noticed[86]

[83] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 51.

[84] *Eikon Basilike*, cxvi., p. 155, *Upon the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book.* Earl James has made only one allusion to this work, and his opinion as to its genuineness is unknown. Probably there was no doubt at that time about its author. It is one of those literary questions into which party-feeling enters so strongly that an unanimous verdict can scarcely be expected; but, notwithstanding the authority of some eminent names which are arrayed against Charles's authorship, a careful and dispassionate examination of the arguments and evidences on both sides will surely satisfy an impartial inquirer that the main points of Dr. Wordsworth's case have not yet been shaken. A clear and condensed state of the controversy is however still wanted.

[85] See Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 53.

[86] See *ante*, p. cxix; *MS. Hist.*, p. 58; *Hist. Isle of Man*, ch. v. p. 14.

that archbishop Williams, who had always, according to his last, if not his best, biographer, "a keen eye to his own interests," was dissatisfied with earl James's patronage of the ecclesiastical dignity, as well as with the position of the Church in Man, and that he had endeavoured to induce the king to sanction measures which would probably have deprived it of its independence. In this arbitrary proceeding there seemed to be a total disregard of lord Derby's interests and of public opinion. We perhaps do not know the exact circumstances of the case, but we can scarcely suppose that the ex-lord keeper's views of civil and canon law, as well as of the rights of property, would lead him to make a proposal which lord Derby, in his over-sensitive anxiety for the Church, clearly regarded as revolutionary in the first instance, and a confiscation of property in the second. His lordship appears to have thought that if the archbishop's principle were conceded the Church would be wrested from the Derby rule, and the great bulwark of the island would be inevitably yielded to the enemy.[87] The Church being despoiled, all other property would be rendered insecure, and no basis left for any description of estate. The earl therefore, by a bold and prompt act, seized the ecclesiastical revenues into his own hands, to prevent the bishop and clergy from being deprived of the regulation of their own ecclesiastical affairs, and sectarianism or something worse from following, although his act of resumption of the endowments was only temporary, and probably intended to be provisional.

[87] *Hist. Isle of Man*, pp. 5, 14.

The archdeacon and his patron worked steadily by ancient rules, and did not forget "godly discipline" and the Prayer Book;[88] and in after times the memory of the earl and his Church work must have been especially valuable to bishop Rutter, and would be reverenced by all his episcopal successors in the see of Man. In his time the Prayer Book was used, and its apostolical services and primitive ritual were conducted by the clergy throughout the island without incurring the penalties imposed by the state, whilst the earl indignantly recollected how the book had been torn at St. Mary's in Cambridge in the presence of Cromwell, who rebuked the clerk for complaining of the desecration. How entirely would lord Derby have sympathised with the Christian poet in his invocation to the Prayer Book![89]

> Te versem studio vivus validusque diurno,
> Te teneam moriens deficiente manu,
> Supremis madeat lachrymis tua pagina nostris,
> Oscula sint chartis juncta suprema tuis!

There was one blessing, without which all others lose much of their value, which lord Derby did not find in the island — the means of educating its sons, and of diffusing amongst them a sound Christian education. He therefore contemplated the founding of an university in the island, his principal object in the undertaking being to train and supply a learned and duly qualified body of men to serve in the ministry of the Church, that "God's service," as he expressed it, "might always be faithfully performed there."[90] The

[88] Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 133.
[89] Imitated from Tibullus. [90] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 44, 51.

bishops for the most part had been absent from the island,[91] and ignorant of the Manx language, and the clergy were more remarkable for their indigence and submission than for their intellectual attainments or moral culture. The ancient authority of the Church, however, if exercised anywhere by her own officers and in her own way, independent of secular control, might have been found here, whilst the Church elsewhere, far from confining herself, as perhaps she ought to have done, to the sphere of spiritual guidance and instruction, was wishful to take the lead in all progressive movements, temporal as well as ecclesiastical. Lord Derby's strong views of conformity and discipline induced him to insist upon episcopal and clerical residence, to support the exercise of jurisdiction and canonical functions, and to enforce a line of authority extremely obnoxious to the latitudinarian party of that day. He argued that "Heresy and Schism are more dangerous and grievous than other sins, because they cut away the very foundation of everlasting life, which is true Faith,"[92] and several similar observations,

[91] *MS. Observations*, p. 84.

[92] *Ibid.* Earl James presented two bishops to the island church, both of them doubtless having been well known to him, being natives of Lancashire. William Forster, D.D., was born at Tatham in North Lancashire, and educated at Cambridge. In 1602 he was presented by queen Elizabeth to the rectory of Barrow near Chester, and in 1618 he became a prebendary of Chester, chaplain to bishop Bridgeman, and an ecclesiastical commissioner for the Northern Counties. In 1625 James the First presented him (*in lapse*) to the rectory of Northenden, and on the 26th December 1633, lord Derby appointed him to the see of Man, and he obtained the royal assent on the 26th February following. He was consecrated on the 9th April 1634, and was

and his theological writings generally, plainly indicate that he had a strong and clear individual creed, and knew how to vindicate it; and yet an excellent writer of our day has so far mistaken the earl's creed as to doubt, notwithstanding his lordship's distinct and positive statement on the subject when on the scaffold, whether he really died a dutiful member of the Church of England.[93] So well were his proceedings on Church matters remembered in the island, a century and a half after his martyrdom, that a Church reformer, when dwelling upon some clerical irregularities, in the Isle of Man, observed: "Another James earl of Derby is wanted to keep such ecclesiastics in their proper bounds and to prevent them from tyrannizing."[94] The civil discords which desolated the kingdom and impoverished the earl frustrated his noble design of founding the university, but he had dis-

buried at Barrow, having declared his will by word of mouth on the 11th February 1634–5, and bond was given for administration 3rd October 1635 to William Forster, yeoman, the bondsmen being Nicholas Forster of Tatham, yeoman, and Barnaby Stirzaker of Garstang. The bishop bequeathed to Thomas Mallory, son of the dean of Chester, his advowson of the rectory of Northenden, *alias* Northern, in the county of Chester, granted to Richard Mallory gent. and William Forster gent. for his own use, and they to present the said Thomas Mallory to the said rectory. He gave to Francis, son of the said Thomas Mallory, £20, and to the poor of the parishes of Tatham, Northern and Barrow, £10 each. To the children of his four sisters £40. To his nephew William Stonebridge £20, and to his faithful servant Barnaby Stirzaker £10. His property seems to have been small. (*Lanc. MSS. Wills.*) His successor was Richard Parr, D.D., born at Eccleston 1592, died 1652. (Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*)

[93] Heywood's *Moore Rental*, Introd. p. xlix.

[94] Townley's *Journal in the Isle of Man*, vol. ii. p. 175.

covered the weakness and felt the necessities of his island church, and had wisely considered how they might be efficiently met. Nor was this his only liberal effort to extend popular education and civilization. In the year 1630 he encouraged his tenants at Bidston to erect a school-house for the education of their children, and he gave the site, aided the funds, and wrote the statutes or orders for the management of the foundation, the parish requesting him and his successors, probably as manerial lords, to nominate the master.[95] He also took an active part, from a plain sense of duty, in the administration and management of the affairs of the grammar school of Ormskirk, of which he was an hereditary governor, and at a period when national engagements might have been urged as a reasonable ground of exemption, he punctually discharged the local trust reposed in him, and advocated the teaching of the people. He attended personally, and not by deputy, the annual meetings of the school, and signed the governors' book in the years 1647, 1649, 1650, and, last of all, in the year of his martyrdom, 7th April 1651.[96] The following letter also shows that in the year 1636 he gave bishop Stanley's chapel within the Collegiate church of Manchester to the warden and fellows to enable them to establish a library, probably for the benefit of the town, although the scheme which was projected, from some unexplained cause, seems to have been abandoned; and it was reserved for the late earl of Derby

[95] Gastrell's *Notitia Cestrien.*, vol. i. p. 155.

[96] Ex. inform., Mr. James Dixon, Ormskirk; Bp. Gastrell's *Notitia Cestr.*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 199.

almost to rebuild that noble chapel, and for the present earl to convey it to the parishioners, for the regular celebration of divine service within its hallowed walls:

To my seruante Thomas Fox att Pilkinton.

Fox,—When last you were with me I heard you say my Chapell att Manchester wanted some repaires — at that time, I forgott to giue you directions about it. But now my pleasure is That whereas some of my seruants that had lately been in those partes haue tolde me the desire of ye Warden and fellowes there, Wishing such a place for their Librarie: I am well contented and giue you Cõmande to tell them soe; And therfore you shall deliuer ouer the same unto them Assuring them of any kindness or Curtesie I can doe them — soe I bidd you farewell.

Yor Master,

Lathume ye 10th of Dec: 1636. STRANGE.[97]

Indorsed: "10 Dec. 1636. Lord Strange's Lr̃e for giueing his Chappell at Manchr to the Colledge for a Library."

Memorañ: Decemb: 17: 1636.

The chapple wch did belonge to James Lord Strange, was by his directions to Mr Thomas Fox, deliver'd up to the Warden and ffellowes of Xst Coll: in Manchester founded by Kinge Charles, for the perpetuall enjoyment of the Coll: aforesd, and for the use of a Library; in witness wherof the sd Tho: ffox hath put to his hand.

THOMAS ffox.

In ye presence of Hugh Willyams,
Randel Tipping, Thomas Tullack (or Cullack).

Lord Derby has left little, if anything, on record regarding his amusements or recreations whilst in the Isle of Man, and he had probably found small leisure for hunting and hawking, tilting and bowling, and the various other fashion-

[97] *Tanner MS.*, 144, fol. 31, Bodl. Libr.

able diversions of his day. He was addicted at one time to field sports, and had his kennels, hounds, stables and keepers; and at Lathom house the best and choicest marksmen, we are told, who usually attended the earl in his hunting and other sports as huntsmen, keepers, fowlers, and the like, were placed upon the tops of the towers during the first siege, and continually kept watch with screwed guns and long fowling-pieces.[98] It seems that his agents, tenants, farmers and others, as well as more aristocratic connections and friends,[99] joined him in the hunting field; and his tenantry were always glad to see him and his friends, for it is said, "he kept to the *old rents*, and did not raise them." There was nothing like exclusiveness in his enjoyment of the sport for which the county had long been famous, and the fields and farms seem to have been none the worse for the hunters, although some of his puritan neighbours could not see, with his lordship, that this was a sort of social link between him and his dependents, and certainly between the landlord and his tenants. There can be little doubt that lord Derby's experience in the hunting field, as an expert rider, had qualified him to be an expert horseman in the battle field. His intrepidity as a rider is named by his contemporaries. He had his favourite domestic animals; and on losing one of them, probably a favourite horse, he observed, that "Cimon with great care did bury all his horses that won him the prizes of the race at the Olympian games. Their graves were hard by that of Cimon himself. Old Zanthippus also did bury the dog which he loved; but

[98] Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 234.

[99] See p. xxiv. note 63, and p. lvi.

Cato did hugely glory that, to save charges to the Commonwealth, he left his horse in Spain which had served him in the wars, and would not bring him by sea to Italy. I certainly do think," his lordship adds, "that it was better to boast of it than to do it."[1] We may probably infer that a love of dumb animals was a feature of his character.

In his diminutive kingdom the earl reverted to past events connected with the war, and refers to the death of his friend Strafford,[2] which prepared the way for the martyrdom of Laud and of the king. It is worthy of observation that he never alludes to Laud, but the strong language which he uses in regard to Strafford and the king shows what his feelings were towards their executioners. He does not appear to have written any private devotional service on these repeated exercises of arbitrary power. Had he done so, he would have moistened the writing with his tears.

It was in the summer of the year 1649 that lord Derby was again required by the Parliament to surrender the Isle of Man, and was offered, as one of the conditions for the transference of his power and independence, the peaceable possession of the half of his estate, — and the alternative was war: but what was the misery of war compared with the misery endured by a domestic family, especially of a mother and her young children, with the memory of Lathom uneffaced from their minds, shut up in a lonely house, watching and fearing, shuddering at every sound or motion without the walls, dreading to see the glitter of muskets, and

[1] *Oxford MS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 86. This was in the year 1645.
[2] *Hist. Isle of Man*, p. 7.

listening to the whispers of traitors, like Christian, in the dark! We need no description of this sort to heighten the sorrows of the family at that period, but we must endeavour to realize this state of things before we can properly estimate the extraordinary force of mind which induced lord and lady Derby to reject the plausible but humiliating offer of the half of their lost estate, with freedom from captivity and exemption from the horrors of war. These were the baits held out by the spoilers; but his lordship recollected and cautiously noted that "the four doors of the temple of Janus were once closed, but armaments were not reduced, taxes diminished, or peace settled."[3] Long goaded by the effrontery and rancour of factious men, the earl, on receiving the proposition, made no attempt to restrain his exasperated feelings, but wrote the following letter to lieutenant-general Ireton in reply. Horace Walpole terms it "a model of brave and natural eloquence." It would, questionless, fall in the enemy's camp with the force of a thunderbolt, and the gathering darkness foreboded the approaching storm.

Castletown, July 12, 1649.

Sir, — I received your Letter with indignation and scorn, and return you this answer, that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service; from which principles of Loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers, disdain your favour and abhor your treason, and am so far from delivering up this Island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power and your destruction. Take this for your

[3] *MS. Hist.*, p. 41.

final answer and forbear any further solicitations; for if you trouble me with any more messages on this occasion, I will burn the paper and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution and shall be the undoubted practice of him who accounts it his chiefest glory to be

His Majesty's most loyal and obedient Servant,

DERBY.[4]

To Commissary General Ireton.

It appears to have been at first believed in London that the earl had accepted the conditions offered by Ireton, and these are even given: "The Isle of Man surrendered to the Parliament, and the earl of Derby admitted to his composition for £15,000."[5] How little his enemies appreciated his principles or understood his reasons for engaging in the war! If they discovered their mistake the discovery cost them something, and the lesson which was taught must have been a hard one, whilst the earl said: "I thank God I fear none who do understand me, or who do not."[6] He felt all along that he was supporting monarchy against republicanism, as the constitution of 1688 was not then recognized, much less understood. After rebuking the audacious presumption of Ireton, who had treated him as a man to be bought and sold at his pleasure, his lordship held the island against Cromwell, and would not ignominiously acquiesce in a form of government of which he disapproved, but was unable to subvert.

On the 12th January 1649-50 a dignity, prized alike by

[4] *MS. Book of Earl James's Writings*, 4to, Knowsley Libr.

[5] Whitelock's *Memorials*, 21 July 1649.

[6] *Hist. Isle of Man*, ch. ii. p. 10.

sovereign and subject, and coveted by all within the circle of the Court, was conferred upon the earl as a direct mark of the young king's personal regard. His lordship was elected a knight of the garter at Jersey, with a band of other faithful royalists, only two of whom lived to be installed,[7] and the earl was never publicly decorated with the magnificent insignia, so much prized by his old master, the martyr king, that on the scaffold his majesty wore his garter studded with four hundred diamonds wrought upon gold. Lord Derby well knew how to appreciate the distinction, and yet at this very time he had just been reading, and had transcribed, Shakspeare's famous definition of honour, and seems to have dwelt upon it with melancholy interest.[8] He had thought, with Falstaff, that "honour had no skill in surgery," and that "detraction would not suffer honour to live." At the same time he noted a saying of sir Walter Raleigh, that "fame, which ploughs up the air and sows in the wind, has often been dangerous to the living, and what the dead get by it, let the dead tell." "I," added lord Derby, "and some more, who are almost dead, have in the meantime some guess."[9]

Although the earl bade successful defiance to the fleets and armies of his restless and turbulent enemies, an event

[7] *MS. Hist. Order of Garter* in Coll. Arms, London.

[8] *MS. Observations*, p. 143. The passage which his lordship quoted is from *Henry IV.*, part i. act v. sc. 1, beginning:

Prince. Thou owest heaven a death.
Falstaff. 'Tis not due yet:

and concluding —

So ends my catechism.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

now and then occurred in the island which broke the monotony of his seclusion and interrupted his repose. One day in the June of 1650 there arrived near the port of Douglas a vessel of peculiar swiftness, containing a suspicious-looking crew of men. The vessel did not attempt to go on shore, and it was discovered that the commander professed to be a merchant, who was soon recognized as a well-known adventurer. He was one of those landless roundheads who sought his fortune under any standard, either by land or by water, and was ready to engage in any enterprise. The vessel being seized proved to be the "Mary," of Liverpool, ostensibly freighted with wares, belonging to Robert Massey a mercer, of Warrington, and said to be bound for Carrickfergus. On the 30th of June captain George Bradshaw, with a long boat having sixteen oars and two guns, belonging to the earl's "ever-active and efficient navy,"[10] captured the mariners, and conveyed them to Castle Rushen as prisoners of war. On being questioned, contradictory replies were elicited; but conjecture easily supplied the lack of certain information. Mr. George Browne (the earl's secretary), major Whalley, and other officers of his lordship, on being appealed to for the release of the prisoners and the restoration of their ship, replied that a fifteenth part of the spoil belonged to the king, to whom they had taken the oath of allegiance, and which they still reverenced; a tenth part belonged to the earl; and the remainder to the captain and to those who had seized the "prize" coming to them from the

[10] *Moore Rental*, Introd., p. xx.

rebels, for it turned out that the mariners were either privateers, or cruising agents of the Government, aiding the rebellion and sailing under false colours. As might have been expected, highly-seasoned discourse followed, and William Stelfox, one of the prisoners, afterwards informed the Government that lady Derby was greatly displeased that captain Bradshaw "had not cast all the (pretended) passengers overboard into the sea, as rebels and traitors;" that the captain expressed his regret at not having done so; and that Peck, another of the earl's men, "would have had them all hanged in the island." The goods were confiscated, but the traitors were spared. To hear of the harsh doings of loyal men is no more than to hear of rebels being captured and punished; and in justice to others, in a case like this, great clemency could neither be expected nor permitted. On the 27th of August colonel Dukinfield informed the Parliament that Massey, who had formerly been employed in the king's service, and was personally known to lord Derby, was a firm supporter of the commonwealth, and that his men on board the ship had done good service to Cromwell. It was also stated that Massey had been held in custody, as a prisoner of war, for twenty-five weeks "in lady Derby's donjon at Lathom house;" that he had come over to the Government from the earl's service in the year 1640; that he had been a soldier as well as a sailor; that by fire and otherwise he had lost property to the amount of £1,161. 10s. "through lord Derby's party,"[11] and that now, by the loss of his ship

[11] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 1, 19–416.

and cargo of goods, £327 more. He had formerly dealt in gunpowder and the ammunitions of war.[12] It was deposed by witnesses that, immediately after the capture of the vessel, the countess went to the young king, at that time in Scotland, and that, before she embarked, she gave commands that not a prisoner should be released until her ladyship's return to the island in safety.[13] An act was subsequently passed by the Government, awarding £1000 as compensation to Massey, and the fifth part, formerly granted out of the earl's estate, to the countess and her children, was immediately taken away.[14]

Lord Derby's pecuniary means in the island were necessarily very small, and the imperious and pressing demand for food absorbed nearly all the available funds. The ordinary clothing of his household and immediate dependants was supplied with difficulty, and was at this time almost exhausted. George Sayers, one of the "privateers" of Massey's vessel, described the destitute state of the earl's household as regarded clothing, and said that "the cloth, silks and taffetas, and other goods, found in the ship, were soon disposed of in the earl's own house, or made into garments for the commander's gentlewomen;"[15] and another of these men further deposed that, "in the house or castle wherein the said earl lives and keeps his court of guard," he (the deponent) saw about twenty-three tailors all busy at work, making garments out of Massey's goods for the half-naked

[12] *ffarington Papers*, pp. 70, 71.
[13] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 1, 19, 408.
[14] Ibid., 303-33; also 1, 19, 416. [15] Ibid., 1, 19, 408.

servants and others of the household:[16] but we may be certain that, in the earl's estimation,

> ——— neither were they the worse
> For this poor garniture and mean array;

whilst, so long as the earl was spared to his noble wife,

> Frosts and fasts, hard lodging and thin weeds,
> Nipt not the gaudy blossoms of her love.

As the war-spirit was dying away in England the attention of the Parliament, or rather of Cromwell, was now more than ever fixed on the Isle of Man and its heroic owners. To intensify their many privations, on the 10th November 1649, £600 was voted "for repairing the garrison of Liverpool;" and colonel Thomas Birch, on the 2nd February 1649-50, obtained power for captain Dukinfield, Peter Ambrose and Giles Meadowcroft to correct and renew leases to this amount, on lord Derby's estates, to tenants "who have faithfully adhered to the Parliament," so as to raise the money wanted.[17]

On the 10th May 1650 extents were issued out of the exchequer against the earl's lands in the county of Chester.[18] On the 14th of the following September the manor of Bispham, which by some singular omission had escaped notice, came under the ban of the spoilers;[19] and had not friends of the earl and countess interfered with seasonable aid, theirs

[16] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 1, 19, 413, on 9th September 1650.
[17] *Moore Rental*, Introd., p. xlii.
[18] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 306–43.
[19] Ibid., 306, 339–40.

would have been almost hopeless poverty, with few indications of wealth or luxury confronting it.

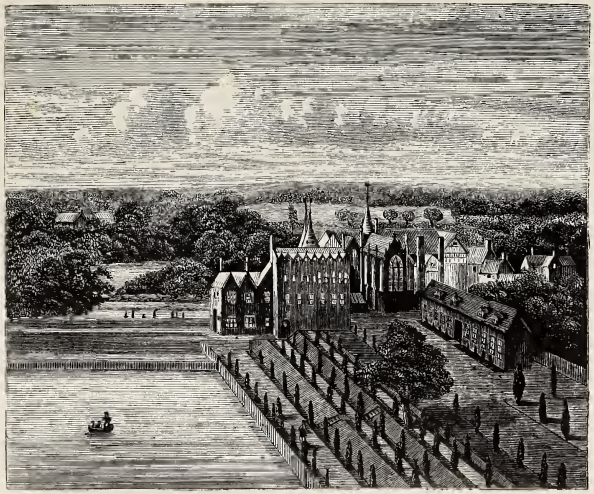
At this time the earl's English and Welsh estates were in the hands of the sequestrators; and although a fifth part of the princely income had been nominally allowed on the 8th September 1647 for the maintenance of the countess and her children[20] (but nothing for the earl), they, in common with the other royalists, complained that they could not receive the amount, and a few years afterwards it was altogether withdrawn. Lord Derby's loyalty, victories and defeats had cost him the house and inheritance acquired from the Lathoms, as well as the possessions conferred by grateful kings on his brave military ancestors. The old and majestic timber at Knowsley was indiscriminately felled,[21] and a ranger was nominally appointed to preserve it, but he abandoned it to its fate. The deer-parks at Lathom and Knowsley were laid waste; the game and the fish-ponds were neglected; the meadows remained uncut; and Knowsley hall was inhabited by a parliamentary soldier, with his wife and family.[22] Bidston and New Park were going to decay. Greenhalgh castle, the favourite retreat of the first earl, had been dismantled; and the smell of fire almost still lingered about Lathom, whilst Harwarden castle[23] was in

[20] Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 278.

[21] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 306, 341; *Moore Rental*, Introd., p. xxvii. xxxiii.

[22] Seacome, p. 291.

[23] How different was the condition of Hawarden now to what lord Strange found it on that July morning, in 1627, when he rode over to the castle from Chester, and heard, to his surprize, that Robert Leigh,



THE HOUSE AT KNOWSLEY.

As it was in the time of Charles, Eighth Earl of Derby.

FROM A VERY OLD PICTURE ON BOARD.

Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A.

the possession of strangers, and the rents from Holland were intercepted by the Government.[24] The walls of his galleries had been stripped of their pictures, and his library had been pillaged of its books. The contents of his muniment-rooms were in the hands of the conscientious men who were seated at Goldsmiths' hall, and his private papers were dispersed abroad. After a long course of exaction, endless compulsory loans, compositions and sequestrations, nothing seems to have remained but the Isle of Man.

Is it to be wondered that the earl exclaimed, in the bitterness of his sorrow, that his "goods were divided amongst the robbers,"[25] and that his "soul was bowed down to the dust"?[26] Several of the estates which were wrested from him were irrecoverably lost to his family, but they could only have been retained by him at the expense of honour, loyalty and consistency. It was at this time and under these circumstances that he escaped, by a remarkable instance of providential care, being killed by a shot fired from a ship, which he had just left at Derby haven, as he was sailing in a Manx boat. He more than suspected that he was the object aimed at by some assassin or secret conspirator, and, although his life was spared, his dear friend Mr. Richard Weston and one of the boatmen were killed, and colonel Sneyd was seriously injured.[27] Assassination has always

"a deputy salt-petre man," had dared to break open the locks of the stables and "had dug therein for salt-petre"! (State Pap. vol. xii., Dom. Car. I.)

[24] State Pap. Dom. Interregn.

[25] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 40. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 82. [27] *Diary*, p. 4.

been so abhorrent to the feelings of Englishmen that we may hope lord Derby was not intended to be its victim, and that a deed so revolting had not been either instigated or sanctioned by the ruling powers.

On the 29th March 1651 five men-of-war vessels were commissioned by the Parliament to invade the Isle of Man, but they were overcome by the great naval forces of the earl; and another expedition against the island,[28] shortly afterwards, was attended with no better success.

In the midst of all this anxiety and privation the earl would hear, with acute sorrow, of the submission of Charles II. to the Presbyterians in Scotland, and of that "merrie monarch" having declared himself "to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God," because of his late father's opposition to the "solemn league and covenant," and because of his mother's "idolatry," by which, said he, "so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed." It was announced to the earl at Castle Rushen that Charles had subscribed to the national covenant of Scotland and to the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms, and had publicly declared that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant and no friends but the friends of the covenant; and that he had been, thereupon, crowned king at Scone 1st January 1650-51.[29] This proceeding on the part of the king was deemed by the earl as little to be palliated as defended; but the young sovereign, finding himself unable to oppose Cromwell in Scotland, determined upon an aggressive movement in England, and, turning to

[28] *Harington Papers*, p. 156. [29] *MS. Hist.*

his well-proved and trusty ally in the Isle of Man, who had kept up a correspondence with his majesty through the medium of sir John Birkenhead,[30] informed his lordship that the Presbyterians would now unite with the royalists in furthering the restoration of their king. Lord Derby replied to his majesty as follows:

[May] it please your Ma: — I haue receiued your comands of the sixth day of this month, than which nothing in this world could be more capable to enliuen my loyal heart after the deadly

[30] Lloyd's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 462. Sir John Birkenhead, D.C.L., fellow of All Souls' college, Oxford, the editor of the *Mercurius Aulicus*, and a celebrated political writer, was born about 1615 at Northwich in Cheshire, and is said to have been "the son of a saddler who kept a small ale house." (Chalmers' *Biogr. Dict.*) It is, however, tolerably clear that he was descended from a good family, as the Birkenheads had landed property there, and in the will of John Ireland of the Hutte, in the county of Lancaster, esq., dated 26th September 1611, he gives legacies to "his very good Lorde and Master, William Earle of Derby," and to his (the testator's) "greate, greate grandfather John Birkenhead Esquier." The testator also bequeaths to Katharine his wife, and his brother and heir Gilbert Ireland, "my best guilt bowle, one of my three silver cuppes or bowles made by one Holme, now or lately a goldsmith in Knowsley, one broad silver bowle or cupp of 40^{s} weight or thereabouts, one standing cupp garnished with silver and guilte, made by the said Holme, called the best Nutt, one chayne of gold of the price of 20^{li} or thereabouts, one border of gould which was sometimes my mother's. To my brother Gilbert my plate of silver and guilt, one chain of gould, one sealinge ringe or signett of armes that was my father's, together with the Horn of Crotonn. To my well beloved cosen and deare frend Robert Hesketh of Rufford, esq., and my brother George Ireland, gent., £20 each and a gould ring, and to Robert Hesketh my diamond ringe, and to my brother George my ringe with deathes head uppon both [rings ?] which I daylie and usuallie weare uppon my fingers." Proved at York. (*Lanc. MSS.* vol. Wills.)

tydings of that fatal stroke (which I cannot name without great horror) on that Saint and Martyr your Ma: father of euer blessed memory.

Also it is a cordial to my heart, that your Ma: so soon takes notice of my constant truthe vnto your seruice, to which as I haue bin faithfull from the first, without euer faltering or halting, so I shall be true to you and yours with all the power that God and your Ma: shall enable me.

I will not faile to obey your Ma: in holding correspondence with the Marquiss Ormond, and to giue him an account of the condition of this country in relation to your seruice in the preseruing it and my self for you, whose next to God wee are, and whose protection and favour wee sh[all strive] to deserue according to the best abilities wee ha[ve.] So vowes

Your Ma: most obedient humble Seruant and Subject,

DERBY.[31]

Indorsed: "Lord of Derbies letter to the King."

It appears from a "Brief State[ment] of his Majesty's Affairs"[32] sent to the earl of Derby by the king after his arrival from Scotland in Cheshire, in August 1651, that the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had zealously adhered to the king, having been expressly excluded by Parliament from all share in the government, a powerful army was forthwith raised by the royalists, who appealed to their friends to vindicate their liberties by effecting his majesty's restoration. Cromwell obtained a victory over the king's forces in Fife in the month of July of that year, and the protector being engaged with his army on the other side of the Frith, the king and his Presbyterian allies, who

[31] *Add. MSS.*, Brit. Museum, 19,399, fol. 74.

[32] See this *MS.* which is printed in the Appendix.

saw that the Independents were now in the ascendant, "presently took a brisk resolution to march into England, contrary to the expectation either of friends or of enemies," the king expressing "a passionate desire to the thing, and the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland unanimously advising and animating his majesty to it."[33]

On the 25th July, about the time of the discomfiture of the royal army in Fife, lord Derby addressed the following letter from the Isle of Man to his secretary, Mr. Browne, who was at that time in Scotland, and from which it appears that the earl expected a summons to join the king there:

My George, — I am put out of pain by Donald's coming, for we had heard sad stories, and I was doubtful of the worst. I pray God the business go well forward, for it concerns heaven and earth. My Lord Galloway had written that the enemies' forces were between him and the army, and could therefore inform me little; and the boatmen reported bad things, for which I purpose some good unto them in way of correction.

I understand that Mr Digby is at the water side near Galloway; by him I hope of some more comfortable relations. If, please God, that thou mayest come thyself with glad tidings, our hopes will be then completed: if you do not come yourself, be sure to write (which I hope is truth) that his Majesty expects the gentlemen that are with me to accompany me till I receive his Majesty's summons; at which time we may march together, in pursuance of the former resolutions. This I desire, in regard that some of them here are very impatient and doubtful concerning my commands since Mr Ilsley writ to Sir T. Tildesly that his best were to come to Court, and that it is his friends' advice to him: indeed, I do easily believe that the good man is deceived by some

[33] *Tanner MS.*, 54, fol. 155–6.

that wish me no good; for if those persons, who I have fixed upon as such that may assist me in my intended services, be taken from me, I may have a melancholy time on't.

I understand that Jack Ashurst and Mr Ilsley have both of them commands in the army, and I therefore wonder less at the persuasions of their friends to come unto them; and I am not so dull as not to know, that the party which hath engaged them would engross also all the rest. Write to me therefore very particularly, I pray, such a letter as I may shew unto the gentlemen now with me, to take off any jealousy that may possess them in this matter.

I have made my preparations to come with all speed when I am called. I thank God I shall have five hundred good fellows with me, I hope in good equipage. This you may be sure of; but your report hereof may be more or less, according to your discretion, for I see noise carries much in these days.

The common people of Scotland say (as Donald tells me) that the Duke of Derby is coming with five thousand; you may also, if you will, say so in jest, till the often repeating make it so in earnest.

I have sent notice into Lancashire of my coming in with the King; now if they be deceived of that expectation, as when Duke Hamilton came there without me, it may endanger some ill, as it did then.

God be thanked, all is well with us in this country, though the Bishop of Down[34] bid us be sure of an enemy ere now: and I hope that such order is taken here, both in furnishing my forts and settling the militia, that an enemy will have no encouragement to come, though they know me out of the land.

I would willingly that it were made known unto the gentlemen

[34] Henry Leslie, D.D., born of a noble Scotch family, dean of Down in 1627, bishop of Down and Connor 1635, a warm adherent of Charles the First throughout all his troubles, and translated to the see of Meath upon the restoration of king Charles the Second. He died at Dublin at a great age, 7th April 1661. (Cotton's *Fasti Hibern.* vol. iii.)

here, that such orders as they or any of them shall receive from me, either to go with me or to stay here, as I shall appoint, will equally be resented by his Majesty; and that his Majesty will well receive from me such motions as I shall make to him on their behalf, when please God he be enabled to do for them: and all this the rather, because the security of this place will be a service as acceptable to him as if it were done in England.

I have sent a boat for Ireland, and a man to seek out Sir Thomas Armstrong. The diurnals that have been taken by our frigates tell strange things: that my Lord Clanrickard is retired to a religious house, that all is their own in that kingdom, &c. But this is very true, that Ireton had besieged Limerick, and had put over a water, near the town, at least two thousand foot and six hundred horse: they battered the walls of the town with three great guns, but their bridge brake: and my Lord Castlehaven came into the town with a good strength of horse and foot: so they of Limerick had a good opportunity to fall on the enemy (in a place called the Little Island) which they did to some purpose, for they cut off the aforesaid horse and foot, and put all to the sword but what they drowned in the river.[35] The report goes further, but that I dare not aver for a truth, though it be believed by very many, that upon this defeat, Ireton drew all his forces together, and in a rage assaulted the old town (so is called a village by the great town), but was beaten off, and the town had execution of them for three miles, and killed four thousand more.

I pity your condition at the sight of every good pye, and on many more occasions. God will send a time, I trust, when we shall have rest; not only in the world to come but here awhile, for a matter of forty or fifty years.

Donald comes, according to your desire, both for the time, as soon as the weather could permit, and for the *dequoy*, the sum of

[35] This account is much exaggerated. Limerick, though bravely defended for several months, was surrendered to the Parliament at the end of October of this year.

£20, of which you will know more particularly by other letters from Baggerly, &c. I have the greatest satisfaction of my cousin Musgrave that I can wish. He was much pleased at your letter, and I shall be no less at any thing more which you can write unto him that may be in order to his desires, which you are already enough acquainted with.

My wife and daughter love their little George; so they have told

Your constant friend,

July 25, 1651. DERBY.[36]

On the day preceding the date of this letter the duke of Buckingham, a man, says Horace Walpole, who could equally charm the Presbyterian Fairfax and the dissolute Charles, writing from Stirling to the earl of Derby, says:

MY LORD,—This bearer [evidently Mr Browne] is so well able to give your Lordship an account of the condition of our affairs at the present that I shall not at all trouble you with it in this letter; only I shall say thus much concerning our late misfortune in Fife—that it is not so considerable as to hinder our march many days towards England. But I hope very shortly to have the good fortune to see your Lordship there, and to give you thanks myself for the obligation I shall ever own to you for having been pleased to express so much kindness to,

My Lord, your Lordships most humble servant and cousin,

Stirling, July 24. BUCKINGHAM.

On the 25th July the duke of Hamilton, who had abandoned his early republican views and returned to his allegiance, wrote from Stirling to the earl in the following hopeful strain:

MY NOBLE LORD,—I doe humblie acknowledge y^r^ Lõps favour in remembering me by this bearer y^r^ servant Mr Browne, from

[36] Cary, vol. ii. p. 284.

whom y^r^ Lõp will haue a particular account of our condition here; and though wee haue latelie had a misfortune, by the imprudence and ill conduct of one of our Generall persons, yett I hope in Gods mercie within fewe days wee may recouer it againe. I shall ad no more, bot continue the assurence of my being constantlie and sincerely,

My Lord, y^r^ Lõps most humble servant,

HAMILTON.[37]

And by the same confidential messenger, of whom, unfortunately, we know too little, the marquess of Argyle, the artful champion of the covenant, wrote to the earl from the same place:

MY HON^BLE^ LORD.—If any thing be wanting of your Lo: desyrs from this place it shall never be from want of affection in me to serve your Lo:, for according to my power or interest to my best knowledg I haue not been wanting to the bearer in my advyce or otherways, as he informed me of your Lo: concernment; and I will say it to your Lo. he is both faithfull and active for your service. Thairfor I leave particulars to his relation, and shall not trouble your Lo: unnecessarlie, for I desyr very much to retain your Lo: good opinion and that interest which I had in your affection, and shall constantlie indeavor to approove my self

Your Lo: most affectionat humble servant,

Str. 25th July. ARGYLL.[38]

Befor the receyt of your Lo: last letter I had disposed of any armes I had, yet I haue prevailed so far with thois who haue them that for half monie in hand and good secooritie for the other half your Lo: will get 300 muskets and sum fyrloks if I can.

The earl of Lothian, the kinsman of earl James, at the same time and by the same courier, informed his lordship

[37] *Tanner MS.*, 54, fol. 116. [38] *Ibid.*, 54, fol. 118.

that "the army was upon a martch:" all these noblemen were of the king's council, and attending upon his majesty at Stirling:

My Lord, — Your servant Mr Browne will give your Lordp soe fertile ane account of all our affairs heare, that I neede not trouble your Lordp wt many wordes att this tyme, besydes he is sodainly this morning going away and the army is vpon a martch, that I have onely tyme to give you the assurance of my constant desire to doe you service, and to say further, that wherin this bearer did in any thing speake to me in your Lordp name I did freely give my advice, as I was very readie to have done your Lordp any service concerning the things that he had vse of in these partes, as I shalbe always to give the testimonies that noe man is more then my self,

My Lord, your most humble servant,

Lothian.[39]

[Stir]lyne, the . . . of July 1651.

Another royalist correspondent also informed the earl that Mr. Browne and not himself should announce the reverses which the king's party had experienced:

My Lord, — I could with much more cheerfulness have given your Lordship an account of our army had Mr Browne left us a week sooner; and now I desire it may be his task, rather than mine, to make information of what loss we have sustained (since we drew into the field) by treachery, as some conceive, or ill conduct, as none can deny. Our next undertaking will be to recover the honour and ground the enemy hath gained of us, and in order to it we shall have a speedy march into Fife: and though for the present we look backward, we shall advance with greater strength and join with our friends in England, where, when your Lordship appears, all good subjects will follow, and be so well instructed by your example, as it will not only be a means to restore the King

[39] *Tanner MS.*, 54, fol. 114.

to his rights, but likewise carry with it so great credit and reputation to your own fame, who have ever supported the Crown, as, without other obligations, I were bound to acknowledge myself,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
HUGH SMITH.[40]

July 29, 1651, at Stirling.

Amongst those who received the royal command to join the earl was sir Thomas Tyldesley of Morleys, the head of an old and wealthy family in Lancashire, who was appointed major-general and second in command in mustering the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire. Long and intimate relations had existed between his family and that of lord Derby, the ancestors of sir Thomas having been officially employed as receivers, or otherwise connected with the estates of the earl's family for more, at least, than a century.[41] Notwithstanding his hereditary adherence to the Church of Rome he was regarded by earl James with unvarying affection, and was supposed to exercise more moral influence over him than any other man in the county.[42] His inflexible loyalty, chivalrous bearing, singular prudence and strong common sense had won the regard of the earl; and their common interest in a common cause, as well as their common danger, which both had faced from the beginning of the war, had served to strengthen the bonds which united them. Clarendon justly gives him a high character, and he was a favourite with all his royalist and even republican contem-

[40] Cary, vol. ii. p. 290.
[41] *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, vol. i. p. 103.
[42] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 19.

poraries.[43] On the 11th of August the lady Henrietta Maria, the earl's daughter, addressed him as follows from the Isle of Man, whilst her father, detained by adverse winds, was on the eve of embarking for England to join the royal standard:

Sir, — Not a minute since, as I was passing the bridge, I met with your letter, and do not a little admire your goodness, when I consider so great an indisposition was not capable to divert you from so troublesome an employment. Nothing can please me better than to hear from you my lord's gallant resolutions: they are so well seconded by you and the rest of the noble persons with him, that I do not doubt of a happy success in all your enterprizes, though the wind is so unmercifully cruel. I am just now told it begins to be fair, which makes me believe this will not reach you, and that I have in some part acquitted myself of what I owe you, without exposing to your view the absurdities of,

Sir, your affectionate Servant,

Aug. 11, 1651. Henriette Marie Stanley.

[43] *Hist. Rebell.*, vol. ii. bk. xiii. pp. 405–6. *Lanc. Warr*, p. 19. The death of Tyldesley was the greatest loss, next to the loss of victory, which the earl sustained in the battle of Wigan Lane. The recollection of his old friend and comrade lingered in his mind in the most solemn moments of his life. Whilst on his way to the scaffold at Bolton, the earl passed through Leigh, and one of his latest expressed wishes was that he might be permitted to dismount his horse and go into St. Nicholas's chapel, within the church, to cast a last look upon the honourable grave of sir Thomas Tyldesley. The earl would have looked upon the grave with those dark eyes which "Thom, (so I call you, lest I offend you)," had often seen radiant with joy, but which in a few hours would be as dull and inexpressive as those of his friend. A fine portrait of sir Thomas Tyldesley, now at Hulton Park, has been engraved in Baines's *History of Lancashire* (vol. iii. p. 610). There is a charm of expression in the refined features which agrees well with the genial and gentle character of this brave and popular cavalier.

My lady commands me to assure you of her service. Mine, I beseech you, Sir, to Colonel Roscarrock and Mr Tilsley Sandes. Let the first know that I am sorry that any of my concernments should give him the least trouble; wherefore I desire him to forget the book, and only remember how much I am his servant.[44]

On the day following the earl himself addressed his faithful friend as follows:

Thom. — I have received several letters from you this day; to them all I have had the best intent that could be to give satisfaction to those desires, which were so reasonable and fitting for the present service.

I knew but at seven of the clock this evening that there was need of a boat hence for our horses. I sent you word, nevertheless, that you might expect one to-morrow morning, but I reckoned too fast; nevertheless it shall come, God willing, at the noon-tide, and the new galliot with it.

All this evening we have been casting forth coal, and still they are at work; and because of the great haste of her coming, so much shall be left thereof as may serve for ballast; the rigging of the sails, and many other lets, make, that she cannot possibly be ready this night. In my opinion Cottrell's vessel might have some of my horses, and some other invention for the transport of the men; but of that you will consider.

Baggerley did desire our Dutchman, or one Dopson, to set a plank into the John; but the first must go in the galliot, else it must stay; and I assure you it will be, God willing, of better use than our Manx boats for landing men. The other is sick in bed; so of him I need not say more. George Joyner is, I hope, as capable as either of them, and him I send; and will want of no care or pains that may advance the present service.

I have looked into my store, and find a mistake of your opinion concerning the arms, for we have not so many fired as you think, and divers of them we have must go into St Bryde and St Andrew's

[44] Cary, vol. ii. p. 320.

parish, in the stead of others which were lately taken from them. And I would not have any excuse among this people, as that they could not defend their country by reason I had disarmed them to fit myself elsewhere. Nevertheless, I will send twenty musquets, twenty-four pikes, and two barrels of powder, which, when I have told you all, may be thought as much as could well be spared.

I shall expect to hear from you to-morrow morning. If please God that all be ready, we may make use of this wind.

My hearty service to yourself and the gentlemen.

Believe me very faithfully your assured servant,

Aug. 12, 1651. DERBY.[45]

The same to the same.

THOM. — So I call you, lest I offend you. Since my wife and I commanded our dear daughter to be our secretary I have observed the wind to turn fair, at least as I think; however, I desire that all things may be in readiness, that in case so great a blessing come to us, we make good use thereof.

If my horses be come up to Douglas, and the vessel, it will be necessary to ship all again immediately. If you do this, let me hear from you presently; and nothing shall hinder me, God willing, to haste unto you, and ever be,

Your faithful friend and servant,

Castle Rushin, Aug. 12, 1651. DERBY.[46]

My little vessel will be ready this tide. The great prize vessel, which I was in hope to have taken for my horses, is not in case.

The earl took with him three hundred Manx soldiers, several of whom were English gentlemen of family who had found a refuge with his lordship, and left his countess in the Isle of Man. The separation was final, for the husband and wife met again no more; and doubtless the earl felt at parting as his old master the late king had felt,

[45] Cary, vol. ii. p. 322. [46] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

when he said, "All justice as well as affection commands me to study her security who is only in danger for my sake. I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten and shipwrecked, so she may be in safe harbour."[47]

On the 12th of August, three days before lord Derby, the king arrived in England, and was then at Ellal moor, between Lancaster and Preston, having passed through the country without meeting a single enemy, and therefore concluding that the people were favourable towards him. On the same day, at midnight, colonel Roger Whitley wrote from sir Thomas Tyldesley's house, Myerscough lodge, near Garstang, to sir Philip Musgrave in the Isle of Man, urging that if lord Derby was unable instantly to come over, the king, lord Wilmot, and others, who seem to have arrived at Myerscough, begged that sir Philip and sir Thomas Tyldesley would come with all possible speed. The colonel thought that the condition of the royalists in Lancashire was good and hopeful, that the county was ready to rise, and he rejoiced that the people brought in provisions willingly. He stated that the discipline of the army gave "huge satisfaction" to the country.[48] His majesty had issued a declaration of pardon to all, with very few exceptions, who would submit to his royal authority, and had published a general summons to the kingdom to rise at once for the king and the laws.[49] On Friday the 16th of August the royal camp was fixed at Higher Whitley, one of the twenty-two townships in the parish of Great Budworth in Cheshire, and

[47] *Icon Basilike.* [48] Cary, vol. ii. p. 321.
[49] *Tanner MS.*, 54, foll. 155–6.

on that day the first sight of an enemy was discovered in and about Winwick ("the great parsonage"), two miles north of Warrington. An engagement took place between Lambert's and the king's forces at Warrington Bridge, which resulted in the success of the royalists. From Higher Whitley his majesty sent the following letter to lord Derby on the 16th of August, "in order to his present proceedings":

CHARLES R.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. We by reason of our quieke march, hauing not, untill now, had time suffieient to send a particular summons to our subjeets of that countie, by which we might haue expeeted to reeeiue any satisfactory aceompt, and being now resolued to pursue the enemie, whom (by God's helpe) we haue forced from Werrington, and made him fly before vs in a scattering and disorderly manner, together with such other advantages as may offer themselves, and hauing sent forth a generall summons to all our subjeets to joyne with vs in this our present expedition, and hauing in all plaees where we past through that eounty bene reeeiued with so great joy and aeelamations of our people, that we ean not doubt of their readinesse to assist and joyne with vs at this time (they hauing so good an opportunity for it) doe therefore desire and require you to giue notiee to all the inhabitants thereof, of what quality and eondition soeuer, from sixteene to sixtie, that it is our will and pleasure that they appear at such time or times, place or places, as you shall direet, with all their horses fitt for service, armes for horse or footmen, and sueh proportion of ammunition and other neeessaries for an army as are in any of their hands: to the end to dispose of sueh numbers thereof as shall be thought fitt for the defenee of ye country, the reduеement of the few refraetory parts thereof to our obedienee, and ye reeruiting of our marehing army. And we do farther coñand you in the exeeution of your trust not to make any dis-

tinction of persons with reference to former differences, but in imitation of us according to their future carriadge and comportment. For as we doe most heartily forgiue and forgett, and also interprett well, the supposed disobligations passt to the crowne, in such as shall now by their actions make good their former professions, so we shall retaine no good memory of those (though appearing at the time well deseruers) who shall upon such an occasion as this (hauing meanes and opportunity for it) be wanting to us, and their country, so highly injured, and so miserably oppresst and enslaved, in their liberties, their properties, and their consciences.

We send you our Declaration; our generall Summons to the kingdome; and the Briefe State of our Affaires, before, at the time, and since we left Scotland. All which (together with this) are to be dispersed and published in all churches, chappells, and marketts, within that countie, particularly the towns of Manchester, Preston, and Wigan, and for that purpose herewith inclosed to you.

And as in our county palatine of Lancaster, so in the rest of the counties comprehended in your comission, you are to pursue the same course hereby prescribed to you, and to maintaine a firme amitie and mutuall correspondence within each of them, and with reference one to another, for the good of our seruice, and of the seuerall countries under your charge. In all which nothing doubting of your care we bid you very heartily farewell. From our Royall Camp at Higher Whitley in Cheshire this 16 of Aug: 1651. And in the third yeare of our reigne.

Addressed: — "To our right trusty and right wellbeloved cosen the Earle of Derby our Captaine Generall of our County Palatine of Lancaster &c."

Indorsed: — "His Ma^ts^ Letter to my Lord in order to his present proceedings."

[*In a different hand.*] "after he had passed Warrington Bridge —— dated at Higher Whitley 16 Aug. 1651."[50]

Sealed with Royal Seal, stamped paper and wax.

[50] *Tanner MS.*, 54, fol. 170.

On the 15th of August the earl landed with seven vessels and cast anchor on the north side of the river Wyre upon Preesal Sands, opposite Rossall Warren. On that night he and his troops marched to Weeton; and the next morning to Lathom house, some parts of that "little town in itself" being still left,[51] and after supper they went on to Up-Holland, and afterwards to Preston.[52] This was the last time he saw his desolate house. He parted with the old familiar scenes he loved so well when they were in their greatest beauty, on the evening of a summer's day. The bright tints of the dark elms, for which Lathom had been famed, contrasted well with the light green of the meadows; and there was the ripened grain lacking hands to gather in the harvest, which, notwithstanding the civil strife, had been, we are told, for several years "verie bountifull." The scenery around was an emblem of a tranquillity of which he was deprived, but it would probably not be altogether unheeded by him, although as a wanderer and an outcast he could hardly enjoy that beautiful and mellow landscape on which he had often looked, and he may well be supposed to have turned away from it towards Preston, his head quarters, very sorrowfully, to look upon Lathom no more.

An old practical difficulty now arose, which might have been foreseen, but which could not be overcome. Clarendon informs us that the earl had no confidence in this undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots[53]—that is, to the party which had entered England in 1640 and 1645, and upon

[51] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 63. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[53] *Hist. Rebell.*, vol. ii. p. 476.

whose chivalry the king had thrown himself in April 1646, but by whom he was held as a prisoner. His captors finding his majesty at that time firm on the subject of the covenant sold him to the Parliament for £200,000, the produce of the sale of the bishops' lands. Such perfidy is rare; but let it not be forgotten that Scotland afterwards expiated the crime. The solemn league and covenant was again the stumbling block to lord Derby. It has been already seen how strongly he opposed it and how resolutely he had refused to pledge himself to its requirements. The Presbyterians, notwithstanding the king's belief and assurance to the contrary, now refused to join the royalists in effecting his majesty's restoration, unless the earl of Derby would subscribe the covenant, and several interviews on the subject took place at Warrington between his lordship and the heads of the Presbyterian party. Seacome has recorded the facts and proceedings in detail.[54] The earl consistently refused to temporize. He addressed the Presbyterian ministers — for, according to Lodge, the army was governed rather by Presbyterian ministers than by its generals — in these words: "If I perish, I perish; but if my master perish, the blood of another prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will be at your door."[55] The earl's high sense of loyalty induced him to cast in his lot in this dangerous and romantic adventure of the young king to recover a lost realm; but it is certain that Cleveland in the seventeenth, Churchill in the eighteenth, and Byron in the nineteenth century, had

[54] Page 295.

[55] Lloyd's *State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 462; Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 298.

not a more unfavourable opinion of our northern neighbours than earl James.[56]

The king pursued his journey by easy stages to Worcester and left the earl in Lancashire to raise troops, as his lordship found the adherents of the Parliament in a deserted condition.[57] At this time he addressed the gentlemen of Lancashire in the following sensible and conciliatory manner:

Gentlemen, — By reason of the King's speedy march through this county, there could not pass those mutual assurances of grace and friendship betwixt you, which I am most confident a short stay in these parts would have happily produced.

It was my good fortune to attend his Majesty in Cheshire: and there having the honour to receive his commands in order to the service of this county, he was pleased to direct that I should invite you to join with me in the present work; wherein the glory of God, his Majesty's personal safety and rights, the laws of our nation, our own liberties and estates, are also nearly concerned.

To this end his Majesty was pleased to employ Major-general Massey as a proper instrument to beget a fair understanding betwixt us; who being acquainted with the intentions and interests of both parties, hath endeavoured it, I hope with some measure of success: though by reason of his Majesty's speedy advance, and a necessity of his own march, he did not bring it to that complete issue which he desired. I have now, therefore, thought good to desire you to come unto me as soon as possibly you can; and be assured that you shall find me resolved to give such a reasonable measure of satisfaction to your moderate and just desires, as shall leave you altogether without excuse, in case you engage not with me in the present service. For my own part, I will endeavour to follow the example of my master, and be far from reflecting upon any differences which heretofore have passed betwixt us, but really

[56] *Priv. Devot.*, p. 105. [57] *Lanc. Warr*, pp. 70, 72.

desire the memory of them may be for ever buried. I do heartily forgive all that have injured me, and desire the like from such who suppose themselves injured by me; to the end that all impediments may be removed, which might in any kind hinder our unanimous and cheerful conjunction in his majesty's service. If it please God to put the like thoughts into you, as I hope He will, I doubt not but He will make us considerable instruments in this glorious work; in which you will have daily experience of my real intentions to manifest myself,

Your very affectionate friend,

DERBY.[58]

The enrolment of volunteers was proceeded with, and the numbers came in as fast as they could be organized, clothed and armed, the earl having informed the Presbyterians that he would refuse none, of any religious persuasion, who wished to serve the king.[59] Young men of all classes now considered it a disgrace to stay at home, and the daily increasing enthusiasm more and more assumed the practical form of enlistment, as well out of regard for the cause as for their patrician head. The old spirit was everywhere revived, and men now quitted their acres to go to the army with lord Derby for their leader. It was acknowledged that braver and more devoted men never stood in line of battle than these dashing, smart-looking young soldiers of the earl of Derby. The roundheads, accustomed to a more morose discipline, looked with astonishment at the handful of singing, shouting and whistling cavaliers, for whom it may be admitted that the beer-can, rather than plunder, had its temptations, as well as for other Saxon

[58] Cary, vol. ii. p. 333. [59] Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 290.

tribes, and which they seemed unable to conquer.[60] Colonel Whitley observed that there were no complaints of rapine, spoil, or disorder, and that a flock of geese might feed all night in the camp and not one be missed in the morning, the discipline was so good and severe.[61]

On the 19th of August major-general Massey (a son of Massey of Coddinton in Cheshire), who had been a Parliamentarian and was still a Presbyterian, addressed the earl as follows, giving him important information of the approach of the enemy's forces, the intelligence having been obtained from an intercepted letter of captain Rigby, probably the son of the old military lawyer who had fought against Lathom house:

[August 19, 1651.]

May it please your Lordship, — My journey towards Manchester this day, by reason of the enemy's horse, a regiment of Colonel Lilburne's, last night quartered about Middleton, and these parts near Manchester hath not yet been so satisfactory as I hoped, by reason of that danger I might run, by pursuing my intention, in observancy to your Lordship's commands, that I could not speak with those gentlemen; but have sent unto them to give Colonel Ashurst and me a meeting this evening.

Some of my horse met with some of the enemy's horse, weary and tired: some of those horses my troop have got; and by one prisoner, a lieutenant, we took letters from him, wrote by one

[60] A contemporary observed: "The Lancashire foot were as stout men as were in the world, and as brave firemen, and I have often told them they were as good fighters and as great plunderers as ever went to a field." (*Memoir of Capt. John Hodgson*, p. 119.) We may allow colonel Whitley to reply to the last charge.

[61] Cary, vol. ii. p. 321. Colonel Roger Whitley was of Peel hall in Tarvin parish, and afterwards M.P. for Chester. (Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 180.)

Captain Nicholas Rigby, whose place and person I understand is known to Sir Thomas Tildsley, who writeth he intended to be at his house this night. His letter is dated from Newborow, four miles from Newcastle, the 13th present; and saith, the next day they were to march nine regiments of foot and three of horse, with ammunition and artillery. He complains much that their foot are much lessened by each day's march; and their horse, I may add, are like to fare little better.

And truly, my Lord, had I not in consideration the long march my horse are to march after, or to overtake his Majesty's army, that I durst not further harass my horses, I should not leave the wearied ones to pass Manchester so quietly; and therefore, if your Lordship think meet, I would beg a good strong party of your Lordship's horse, may be sent out towards Manchester this night, and doubtless they may take many horses and prisoners from the enemy; and might be assistant to me, that with more freedom I may converse with such as may render my service of advantage and use to your Lordship, and fit me to answer your Lordship's commands; which will ever find me, my very good lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

EDW. MASSEY.[62]

I am with my troop, that they may have some rest, now at Catishead Green, five miles distant from Warrington, the 19th of August, at four of the clock in the afternoon.

Lord Derby in an incredible short space of time mustered two thousand efficient men, fourteen hundred of whom were organized, equipped, fed and maintained by him, and through his influence joined the king's army; whilst he remained in Lancashire with six hundred soldiers for the purpose of raising the county for his majesty's service. For a short time he had made Preston the head quarters, but wished to secure

[62] Cary, vol. ii. p. 324.

Wigan, a town in which he had great confidence, and which was much in his favour.[63] On the 22nd of August Mr. Browne, his lordship's secretary, wrote as follows, by the earl's command, to lieutenant-colonel Ashurst, a gallant member of an old Lancashire family; and the announcement contained in the letter was not without foundation, as colonel Lilburne, one of the best of the parliamentary officers, was looming in the distance, and his destination, also, was Wigan:

Lieutenant-colonel Ashurst, — My Lord gave me command to let you know, that as yet his Lordship hath not sent abroad these letters (concerning which you and I had some discourse), by reason there is a party of the enemy (as we hear) come to Wigan, and we do not yet understand what numbers, or who they are. Our intelligence (which is not altogether certain) speaks him to be Lilburne, and his design to beat us up. We are in readiness to entertain him.

My Lord wishes you to be careful of yourself. So soon as we can look about, and judge of the coast, whether it be clear or not, and then fix upon a day, my Lord will immediately desire a meeting from those gentlemen in the manner you proposed. I have nothing more to say for the present, save that I am,

Sir, your most affectionate servant,

George Browne.[64]

Friday morning, August 22, 1651.

On the 25th of August lord Derby fixed his quarters at Wigan, and intended to wait the coming up of the musters; but on the following morning he was surprised by the arrival of Lilburne, who brought the militia of Lancashire and

[63] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 63; Baines, vol. iv. p. 611.

[64] Cary, vol. ii. p. 333.

Cheshire, as well as a detachment of horse, with which he had been sent by Cromwell to harass the king's army on the march.

There is some discrepancy in the statements as to the respective forces of the earl and Lilburne, but the generally-received authorities have stated that the earl had six hundred horse,[65] and Lilburne three thousand horse and foot,[66] although major Robinson, a republican, has given the earl one thousand foot and five hundred horse.[67] The earl divided his horse into two bodies of about three hundred each, commanding the van himself and assigning the rear to sir Thomas Tyldesley. Wigan Lane was a most disadvantageous place for the earl, and here the battle took place. The republican historian says that the valour of the earl and his army was so great, and the battle so hot on both sides, that for a good space it was doubtful what the issue would be.[68] The earl and his party twice forced their way through the whole body of the enemy, and having driven Lilburne from his quarters and still pursuing him, at that juncture a reserve of horse came to the rescue of the parliamentarians and, overpowering the cavaliers by their numbers, decided the victory. On the fall of lord Widdrington, in the third charge, lord Derby mounted the horse of his dead friend, and with six gentlemen of his party fought his way through a large body of spectators, and found an asylum in the house of a friend in Wigan, where he escaped the active search of

[65] Seacome, p. 181.

[66] Peck, p. 46; Lloyd's *State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 463.

[67] *Civil Warr*, p. 76. [68] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

the enemy.[69] The earl received seven shots on his breast-plate, thirteen cuts on his beaver over his steel cap, and five or six wounds upon his arms and shoulders,[70] and also a blow over his face,[71] having had two horses killed under him, and being remounted both times by the activity of a ready-witted and faithful French servant, who afterwards perished by the side of his beloved master. Probably an instance of greater bravery, on the part of a vigorous and expert commander,[72] is not on record. If we take the forces on both sides as given by the parliamentarians, lord Derby had not more than half the number of the enemy, but the probability is that he had only six hundred horse, with which, for two hours, he dared to encounter three thousand horse and foot in a narrow lane, where seven hundred of them were left dead, besides the wounded, with the loss to himself of three hundred only. But his loss was great notwithstanding; for here fell, covered with wounds and honour, his gallant friend sir Thomas Tyldesley, as well as major-general William lord Widdrington,[73] colonel Boynton,

[69] The house in the market-place, known as the Dog inn, is still pointed out in Wigan, and the room, called Beeston castle, which concealed lord Derby, long contained an old brass plate with the arms of Man upon it, with the circumscription — *Honi soit qui Mal y pense.* The plate was said to be a relic of earl James. It is now at Knowsley.

[70] Peck, p. 46. [71] *Civil Warr*, p. 75.

[72] Clarendon, vol. ii. bk. vi., p. 146.

[73] Sir Charles Stanley, K.B., the earl's nephew, being the son of his only brother sir Robert Stanley, married Jane, daughter of William first baron Widdrington. There is a very fine portrait of this gallant nobleman at Towneley, of which the Townleys became possessed through the Tempests of Stella, in the county of Durham. We learn

colonel Trollope, lieutenant-colonel Galiard (probably the "faithful French servant"), major Anderton, and other brave men of good families.[74]

His bravery on this occasion made a deep impression on his contemporaries, and, however the parallel might hold, he was compared to Cæsar; but no Cato arose in Wigan to call him, as Cæsar was called, a perfidious general, whose ambitious designs were apparent to every body.[75] The people knew how to estimate the earl's valour, and never for a moment doubted the sincerity of his attachment to the king, or his activity in his country's cause.

After his wounds were dressed and a disguise furnished, the earl, shortly after midnight, attended by colonel Roscarrock and two servants, left Wigan to join his majesty at Worcester, where he arrived before the battle.

Colonel Robert Lilburne, writing to the Speaker from Wigan on the day of the battle, observed that lord Derby

from Clarendon (vol. ii. bk. xiii., pp. 404–5) that lord Widdrington was a gentleman of the most ancient and best extraction in the county of Northumberland, — that he was a personal friend of the late king, and one of the four gentlemen of the privy chamber to the prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), — that he had served under the marquess of Newcastle, and was "very willing to serve under the earl of Derby." He, like Tyldesley, was a Roman Catholic; and this circumstance proves that one of the best English Churchmen then living recognized his merits as an officer without insulting his creed or impeaching his public honesty.

[74] Lloyd's *State Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 463; Seacome's *Hist.*, p. 300; *ffarington Papers*, App. p. 166.

[75] See Townshend's *Governing Families of England*, — HOUSE OF STANLEY.

had thought himself wholly master of the counties of Lancaster and Chester, "as indeed he was,"[76] and that none in those counties were able [to], or durst, appear against him, but began to beat drums and raise men in all places where he came, and would have been very strong in a short time, by the accession of many malignant papists and disaffected persons, as also by the assistance afforded by the ministers and the Presbyterians, who had in Lancashire grown more bitter and envious against the Parliament than even the old cavaliers;[77] thus confirming bishop Warburton's observation, that whilst the enslavers of their country have generally vanquished it when sunk in luxury and effeminacy, Cromwell vanquished his when every village swarmed with eager and undaunted champions. And writing to Cromwell, after the battle, Lilburne said he had wished the inhabitants of Preston to know that he was there to oppose the earl of Derby and to stay the people from rising with him, as they had reported that none of the Parliament's forces were in the county; and indeed, added Lilburne, the country believed that all was then their own, and the people generally, taking this for granted, had been rapidly coming in. They had shewn a great deal of courage by a mighty shout

[76] And yet a modern writer has said that the earl's inactivity at the beginning of the war, of which Clarendon speaks, was to be attributed to the excessive hostility of the people around towards him, and that it is certain that for the rest of his life the earl entirely lost his power over his people on the mainland. (Townshend's *Governing Families of England.*) Alas! for historical accuracy, when such baseless assertions are recorded as facts.

[77] Cary, vol. ii. p. 324.

which they gave for the royalists, beyond the town of Wigan, in the very sight of the parliamentary army. He added, further, that lord Derby was "sore hurt" at Wigan, and had narrowly escaped.[78] Another republican writer says, "he went away with a sad face and was sore cut."[79]

The victory obtained by the Parliament occasioned great rejoicings at head quarters, and the Government wrote from Whitehall on the 29th of August to the committee of the militia of the county of York:

GENTLEMEN,— * * * * * *
We doubt not but you will have heard before this shall come to your hands of the victory God hath given to Coll: Lilbourne and the forces under his comand against ye Earle of Darby and those with him in Lancashire, whereby wee conceive the danger is past of the levies there for Charles Stuart.[80] * * * *

Whitehall, 29 Aug. 1651.

On the same day it was

Resolved by the Parlament that on the next Lord's day thanks be given to Almightie God by the ministers in all churches and congregations in the citie of London and all places within the late lines of communication and weekely bills of mortalitie, for the great mercies of God to this nation in the great and seasonable defeate of the Earle of Derbyes forces in the countie of Lancaster, and likewise for the greate successe it hath pleased the Lord to give the Parlament's forces in Scotland, and that the Lord Mayor of the cittie of London doe take care that timely notice bee given to the said ministers accordinglie.

Resolved by the Parlament that it be referred to the Councill of State to prepare a narrative upon these two subjects to bee pub-

[78] Cary, vol. ii. p. 338. [79] *Harington Papers*, App. p. 167.
[80] State Pap. Dom. Interregn., 117-460.

lished as the ground of this thanksgiving, and to report it to the house to morrow morning.

HEN. SCOBELL, Cler: Parlament.[81]

Whilst the rebels did not omit to offer thanksgivings for "the great and seasonable defeat of the earl of Derby's forces" in Lancashire, the earl himself had prayed for his enemies, and for all who despitefully used him and persecuted him and his sovereign,[82] according to the apostolic injunction to the early Christians under Nero, to pray "for kings and all that were in authority." "Make them," he prays to the Almighty, "of enemies to become my friends, soe that we both may become Thy servants, and having perfect charity one towards another, Thou mayest have more mercy for us both."

Mr. Frost, secretary to the council, writing as follows from Whitehall, on the 2nd of September, to colonel Fitche, governor of Carlisle, mentions the great influence of lord Derby, especially in Lancashire, prior to his defeat at Wigan, and having discovered the strength, intention and position of the royalist troops, predicted with much accuracy the success of Cromwell's army at Worcester:

S^R^, — The Councell have received yor ltre of the 27th of August from Carlisle, whereby they find y^t^ at that time yo^u^ had not heard of what had beene done by Coll. Okey and others in suppressing the levies in the west of Scotland, which they are informed from him was thoroughly done, soe as they trust those yo^u^ speake of were in the number, for they were persons sent back from their King. They will signifie to Lt-Gen^ll^ Monke what yo^u^ write,

[81] Parl. Order Book, 151–58. [82] *Priv. Devot.*, pp. 43, 39.

though they conceive yo[u] have done it allready. Before this time yo[u] will have received the good newes of the defeat of the Earle of Derby in a most seasonable houré when he was beginning to grow great, and would in a short time in that countie have growne to great numbers; himselfe hardly escaped, being wounded; many principall men slayne; and many prisoners, which you have before this time [heard of]. The enemy is in Worcester, the Lord Gen[ll] with his army before it; and besides the forces of the standing army there are great numbers marched from the severall counties, both horse and foot, with the greatest alacritie imaginable, all places showing a great readinesse to oppose him, and none to rise for him but those in Lancashire before the defeat of Derby, and those of the towne of Worcester who are like to pay deare for their treason. I hope to heare a speedy accompt given of y[e] businesse. London had last week a rendezvouz where were horse and foot in y[e] field 14000 at least at very short warning. This day they have another rendezvouz at their owne desire where it is thought there will bee many more. S[r] Arthur Haselrige hath been written to rayse what forces he can in those 4 counties who hath returned answer that hee is about it with all dilligence.[83]

And on the same day the Whitehall authorities, addressing lieutenant-general Monk, could not refrain from adverting to the reverses sustained by the earl at Wigan:

S[R], — * * * * *

We were informed that there were some numbers levied and ready about Dumfrize whom we know you will not be wanting to doe yo[r] best to suppresse: they are said to be to follow their King, to whom we conceive they will hardly come but will meet with the same entertainment the forces under the Earle of Derby did, which were wholly broken by Coll. Lilburn's regiment and three foot companies with him.[84] * * * *

[83] Dom. Interregn., 117, 479. [84] Ibid., 117, 487.

Two days after the date of the above letters, "the commissioners of the militia of the county of Lancaster" had some precise instructions given for their future guidance, from the council office in the following dispatch. One of its announcements is the unmitigated severity with which captain Cotterell, an active naval officer, was visited by the Government. As a royalist he had commanded the vessel in which the earl had sailed from the Isle of Man to Lancashire, and having been captured at Preesal[85] and sent, on the 30th of August, to York castle,[86] he was shortly afterwards removed to Hull, and being, like his master, impeached under a temporary act of Parliament, of which he had never heard, was brought to a court-martial, convicted, condemned, and hastily executed:[87]

GENT. — The Lord Generall hath issued out a commission to Lt-Genll Salmon Deputy governour of Hull for tryall of offendors according to Law Martiall and wee have written to ye commissioners of ye Militia of ye county of Yorke to send Cotterell and his fellowes, that were taken in yor county for transporting ye Earle of Derby and his party, to Hull to receive their tryall there, and have written to him to proceed to their tryall soe soone as witnesses shall come thither. Wee therefore desire you forthwith to send thither the original examinacõns there taken against the said Cotterell and his fellowes and such witnesses as can sufficiently and fully make out the matter of fact agt them, that the Court Martiall may proceed agt them wth all expedition, that a speedy justice upon them may bee a terrour unto others and prevent the like attempts agt the peace of ye Comonwealth. And whereas wee are informed yt divers of ye souldiers of Coll. Lilburne's Regimt and others that

[85] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 72. [86] Dom. Interregn., 1, 19.
[87] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 73.

were in that service against ye Earle of Derby and his party were there wounded and soe remaine in yor county for the present unable to goe up to ye armie. Wee being sensible of the very great service done to ye Commonwealth, wherein God was pleased to make them instruments, doe recommend them to yor speciall care to see that they may have all necessary accommodation for their assistance and recovery, they deserving all encouragem^t^ for their resolute and valiant deportment against that enemy ye seasonable breaking of whose forces have been there raysed. And for y^t^ wee conceive now that our forces are generally come upp to Worcester wee shall speedily compell ye enemy either to fight or fly, and most probably ye later, and that hee will endeavour if possible to returne unto Scotland the prevention whereof will as much as may bee, be endeavoured by ye army; yet for ye better effecting thereof wee desire yo^u^ to have yor forces in readinesse and to spoile all the fordes as much as yo^u^ can and otherwise stope the passes that may retard their flight, till our forces shall come up to them, if they should secretly steale away and get some few houres before them; all wch wee recom̃end to yor speciall care.[88]

Gent. — There were lately some prisoners sent out of Lancashire to the castle of Yorke viz: one Cotterell and his fellowes who were taken in Lancashire haveing transported the Earle of Derby and his party into that county and the Lord Gen^ll^ hath sent a commission to Lt-Coll. Salmon at Hull to try those prisoners according to the Act of the 12th of August. Wee desire yo^u^ forthwith to cause the said Cotterell and the rest sent with him to Yorke to be sent to Hull in safe custody and there delivered to Lt-Coll. Salmon to bee proceeded against by vertue of ye said com̃ission and according to the Act of Parlam^t^ of the 12th of August last.[89]

After the battle of Wigan Lane, lord Derby, colonel Roscarrock and two servants proceeded towards Worcester, and

[88] Dom. Interregn., 117, 495. [89] Ibid., 117, 500.

having arrived at Mr. Watson's house, near Newport in Shropshire, on the confines of Staffordshire, there met Mr. Ralph Sneyd of Keel, a personal friend of lord Derby.[90] Wearied by excessive fatigue and loss of blood, his lordship was conducted by his friend to Boscobel house, the seat of Charles Giffard esq.,[91] situated in an obscure and retired part of the county of Salop. He arrived here on Friday night the 29th of August, and found no one in the house but William Penderel and his wife, being two domestic servants. On the following Sunday evening William Penderel conducted the earl to Mr. Humphrey Elliot's of Gatacre park, which was about nine miles from Boscobel on the way to Worcester, where he found the king. On the 3rd of September the battle was fought, and the earl, notwithstanding the wounds which he had received only eight days before, displayed great bravery and invincible courage, reminding his friends of the best of those great results which he had accomplished with small means and at fearful disadvantage. Overpowered by numbers and great generals, the royalists were defeated and their army dispersed. The king and some of his faithful followers escaped, determined immediately to proceed through Lancashire into Scotland.[92] There can be no doubt that at this moment one ray of hope gleamed upon lord Derby's mind. The Isle of Man was still his own, and defended by her whose loyalty had never

[90] *Diary*, p. 4.

[91] Charles Giffard, nephew of Peter Giffard of Chillington, in the county of Stafford, esq. (Burke's *Landed Gentry*.)

[92] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 308.

wavered and whose affection for him knew no diminution; and could the island be reached, he knew that security and rest awaited him there.[93] But there was a barrier between him and the island which was impassable.

Towards the evening of the day of battle, the guide of the royal party being found ignorant of the bye-ways of the county, his majesty consulted with the duke of Buckingham, lord Derby and lord Wilmot, as to what place they should march to for temporary repose. The earl of Derby immediately pointed out Boscobel house, to which place the king determined to proceed. Whilst on the way thither Mr. Giffard proposed that the party should first halt at White Ladies, another seat of Mr. Giffard's, twenty-six miles from Worcester, where the king and his retinue might obtain refreshment and rest. Having reached this place, two brothers, Richard and William Penderel, were brought to the earl of Derby, who immediately took them to an inner room to the king, and, pointing to his majesty, touchingly said to William Penderel, his lordship's late faithful protector: "This is the KING; thou must have a care of him, and preserve him as thou didst me." The king, after being disguised, was conducted by the other brother, Richard Penderel, out of a back door of the house, unknown to most of the company except some of the lords and colonel Roscarrock; and there the earl of Derby, with a sad heart and fervent prayers, took leave of his majesty for ever. The king was conducted into an adjacent wood belonging to Boscobel, as a place of temporary security, and was there

[93] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 308.

left in safe hands.[94] The events which followed are never likely to be forgotten in this land of royal oaks, which were once looked upon with more reverential feelings than the Grecian oak, although possessed of neither oracular nor sacred wisdom, and need not be related here.

The earl, disregarding his own interest, and having secured the safety of the king, proceeded with the earl of Lauderdale, lord Talbot and about forty horse, having Mr. Giffard for their guide, towards the north, by the way of Newport, hoping to overtake general Lesley and the main body of the Scotch horse, who had retreated with great rapidity.[95] The royalists had not proceeded far when they were attacked by some of the rebels under the command of colonel Blundell. Lord Derby and the rest of his comrades faced about, fought, and repelled them.[96] Shortly afterwards, on the same morning, a little beyond Newport, they were met by some of Lilburne's men in the front and by other parliamentary soldiers in the rear, and probably some skirmishes ensued, as it is recorded that captain Oliver Edge, a parliamentary officer on his way to Worcester, having heard of the battle, and wishing to know what had become of the forlorn, and hearing a firing in the distance left his regiment, and saw a small party of the king's horse behind him in the fields. Having no business to be away from his regiment, he was retreating towards it, when he was hailed by some of the party, and about eighteen or twenty horsemen alighted and

[94] Memoirs of Grammont, *Boscobel Tracts*, part i. p. 494.
[95] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 307. [96] *Boscobel Tracts*, p. 495.

surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.[97] Seeing the utter impossibility of sustaining another encounter, owing to the dispersion and flight of the Scots and the strength of the enemy, and being worn out by fatigue, suffering from his wounds and depressed by disappointment, the earl of Derby, as well as lord Lauderdale, Mr. Charles Giffard and some others, surrendered to captain Edge, who, according to the recognized rules of war, granted quarter for life and conditions for honourable usage.[98] The two earls and Mr. Charles Giffard were conveyed as prisoners of war, first to Whitchurch, thence to an inn at Bunbury, in Cheshire, from whence Mr. Giffard fortunately escaped, whilst the earl of Derby was conveyed to Chester castle (where he arrived on the 5th of September) with a guard of soldiers to attend him,[99] and the earl of Lauderdale was sent to the Tower.[1]

On the 9th the authorities at Whitehall addressed colonel Dukinfield, the governor of Chester, in reply to an official communication; and there can be no doubt which of the prisoners was conceived to be the most dangerous:

S^R^, — Wee have received yor letter of the 6th instant wth the papers enclosed and returne yo^u^ thanks for yor care and dilligence therein expressed; with yor proceedings the Parlament hath been made acquainted. The petition enclosed of Mr Lowther hath been presented to ye Councell. Wee desire yo^u^ to examine him con-

[97] *Boscobel Tracts*, p. 496.

[98] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 78; Seacome, p. 304; *Mem. Capt. John Hodgson*, pp. 154-5-6, 8vo, 1806; *Boscobel Tracts*, part i. p. 495.

[99] *Lanc. Warr*, p. 78.

[1] Lloyd's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 465. He remained a prisoner there until he was released by Monk at the Restoration.

cerning his being wth the Earle of Derby and also examine Sr Timothy Fetherstone concerning what is alleadged against him in the said petition and to send up the said examinations to the Councell. Wee desire yo^u^ allsoe to send up to the Councell a perfect lyst of the prisoners now in yor custodie in yor garrison, distinguishing ye English from ye Scottish and adding to each of them their severall quallities and withall your opinion which of them yo^u^ conceive to bee most dangerous that thereupon wee may give you further order about them.[2]

The noble victim was now in the inextricable meshes of his vindictive enemies, with whom, as Horace Walpole observes, his very virtues were strong pleas against mercy.[3] His royal descent and the splendour of his ancestry, — the boldness and honesty with which he had defended what at that time were considered to be the prerogatives of the Crown, — the firmness with which he had supported what he regarded as the just rights of the subject, without acceding to the sudden and ill-matured changes demanded by the malcontents, — the sincerity and consistency with which he had maintained his own religious convictions, without violating those of others; all these just claims and pleas were disregarded, and some of them were positively prejudicial to him.

There can be little doubt that Cromwell, according to the printed accounts,[4] was the principal agent in the proceedings which followed the surrender of the earl. That the protector feared his lordship's "ancient and mighty influence"[5] is unquestionable, and that he sought his destruc-

[2] Dom. Interregn., 117, 513.
[3] *Royal and Nob. Auth.*, vol. ii. p. 43.
[4] Seacome, pp. 304, 319.
[5] *Civil War Tracts*, Pref. Mem., p. x.

tion seems to have been generally believed, so constantly do we find fear and injustice attend upon each other, and produce the most heinous crimes. The earl was arraigned on the 29th of September on the ominous charge of having invaded the nation with an army, to subvert the Government and to set up Charles Stuart, a declared traitor and enemy to the commonwealth of England, to be king thereof;[6] and yet on that day Cromwell's friends were keenly speculating how the nation should, from that time, be governed, and what "great man" they should have either as king or protector.[7] By a terrible perversion of military law, the earl being a prisoner of war, and having had honourable quarter given by a field officer, was not considered by the Government as having fallen into the rank of a private citizen, but as still being the leader of the royalists' army, and therefore a court-martial was specially appointed by Cromwell to investigate the conduct of the prisoner, who was put on his trial for life.

Shortly after his lordship's arrival at Chester he wrote as follows from the castle to his wife, in the Isle of Man, but she did not receive the letter until after the fatal 15th of October:[8]

[6] See Appendix, Court-martial.

[7] *ffarington Papers*, Append., p. 168.

[8] All the letters which follow are transcribed from a large quarto volume in manuscript of the seventeenth century, in the library at Knowsley, supposed to be in the handwriting of archdeacon Rutter. Seacome's additions, verbal alterations and corrections, although numerous, are upon the whole unimportant, and might be made by himself or found in his copy.

My dearest Heart, — It hath been my sad hap since I left you, to have not one comfortable tydings from you, and this must be most sad of all, y^t^ what I now write is a mass of many sad things in one.

I will not stay too long on particulars, but in short inform you, that the King is dead, or escaped in disguise: all the nobles of his party killed and taken, saveing a very few, that it matters not much where they be: the common soldiers are dispersed, some in prisons, some sent to other nations, none in likelihood to serve more on the same score. I escaped one great danger at Wigan, but met I with a greater at Worcester; I was not so fortunate to meet with any that would kill me, for the Lord Lotherdaile and I having tired horses, we were not thought worth the killing, for we had quarter given by one Captain Edge, a Lancashire-man; and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me, are beholding to him.

I thought myself happy to be brought to Chester, where I might see my two daughters, and have means as I doubted not to send to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God in whom I trust, doe help me some other way; but whatsoever comes on me I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all but the sense of your grief, and that of my poor children and friends.

Colonel Duckenfield, Governor of this town, is going according to his orders from the Parliament and General, to the Isle of Man, where he will make known unto you his business.

I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon write you this advice.

Take it not as from a prisoner, for if I be never so close, my heart is my own, free still as the best, and I scorned to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest torture. I had procured Baggarley, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you to satisfy my letter. I have told him my reasons, and he will tell them you, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that island, and may be of some here, which is dear to you; but

of that take no care; neither treat at all for it, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

Have a care my dear soul of yourself, and of my dear Mall, my dear Ned and Billy; as for those here I give them the best advice I can. It is not with us as heretofore. My son with his bedfellow, and my nephews Stanley, have come to see me, of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London, with exceeding concern and passion of my good; he is changed for the better, I thank God, which would have been great comfort to me, if I could have more to leave him, or that he had better provided for himself.

The discourses wch I have had of the Isle of Man, have produced the inclosed, or at least such desires of mine in writing as I hope Baggarley will deliver to you upon oath to be mine; and truly as matters go, it will be your best to make conditions for yourself, your children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonel Duckenfield, who being so much [a] gentleman born, will doubtless for his own honour's sake deal fairly with you.

You know how much that place is my darling, but since it is God's will to dispose thus of this nation and of Scotland and I believe of Ireland too, there is no more to be said of the Isle of Man, but to refer all to the good will of God; and to get the best conditions you can for yourself, and our poor friends there, and those that came over with me; and so trust God, and begin the world again, though near to winter. The Lord of Heaven bless you and comfort you, and my poor children; the Son of God, whose blood was shed to do us good, preserve our lives; that we may meet again on earth, however in heaven; where we shall never be plundered, and so I rest everlastingly,

Your faithful,

DERBY.[9]

On the 11th of September it was resolved by the Parlia-

[9] See also *Lanc. Warr*, p. 81.

ment that the earl should be tried at Chester by a court-martial created by a commission from the lord-general Cromwell,[10] founded upon an act of Parliament dated 12th of August (one month before), intitled "An act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party," under pain of high treason against the commonwealth of England.[11] On the 13th of September a letter was addressed from Whitehall to colonel Dukinfield, containing the following injunction:

S^R^, — * * * * *

The Lord-Generall hath renewed yor coñission for a Court Martiall, which wee send yo^u^ enclosed, and allsoe the orders of Parlament concerning some to begin withall, to bee made examples of justice, among which yo^u^ will see the Earle of Derby, Captaine Bendbow, and Sr Timothy Fetherston Haugh, are appointed to be tryed there at Chester, by the said commission of the Lord-Generall. Wee desire yo^u^ to call the coñissioners together and proceed speedily and effectually to the tryall of the said offendo^rs^, as by ye s^d^ order is required.[12] * * * *

Colonel Dukinfield seems to have hesitated in carrying out his instructions, and received on the 22nd of September the following more precise orders from the authorities at Whitehall:

S^R^, — Wee have received yor lr̃e of ye 20th instant. As to ye Earle of Derby yo^u^ have formerly received a coñission from the Lord-Generall for ye tryall of him, and you have had allso sent yo^u^ the order of Parlament and the letter of this Councell thereupon for a speedy and effectuall proceeding against him and the rest, in ye order of Parlament, appointed for tryall at Chester, to which

[10] Parl. Order Book. [11] *Civil War Tracts*, p. 313.
[12] State Pap. Dom., 117, 522.

wee againe referre yo^{u}, having no other direction to give in that businesse. For the five prisoners that were condemned wch yo^{u} have reprieved, wee desire yo^{u} to sẽnd us their names and quallities and the reasons why yo^{u} reprieved them, till then wee can give noe further answer to that part of yor letter. For what concernes the affaire of the Isle of Man you will receive direction from the Lord-Gen^{ll} to whose care that affaire is committed.[13]

On the same day the colonel was again reminded, by another official, that definite orders had been already dispatched to him concerning the earl of Derby's trial, but that he was "to expecte the lord-general's special orders for the Isle of Man;"[14] and so the forms and mockeries for the court-martial were proceeded with. And that no damaging evidence which the Government might be able to furnish should be wanting, colonel Mackworth, the governor of Shrewsbury, and the head of the court-martial, was informed on the 25th of September, by a letter from Whitehall, that Isaac Birkenhead, the bearer of it, was one who had been employed "between Charles Stuart and the earl of Derby about the conspiracy in Lancashire," upon which many persons there were apprehended and secured, and that he (the bearer) was able to give testimony in all that business. The writers further added: "And although your proceedings against the earl of Derby will be upon the act of the 12th of August, yet we have thought fit to command him (Birkenhead) to wait upon you, that you may make use of him or his testimony for further aggravation, as you shall judge requisite."[15]

[13] Dom. Interregn., 117, 545.
[14] Draft Order Book, 50–68.
[15] Dom. Interregn., 117, 550. Of Isaac Birkenhead nothing of im-

It does not however appear that this fellow, with his special passport, was required to communicate to the court his slanders and untruths "for further aggravation;" but what a spectacle of a righteous Government, professing to represent the sovereign power of the people, does the letter afford! There were some "papers" sent on the 30th of September by the Government to colonel Mackworth, but their precise nature is unknown. There is a suspicious ambiguity in the command that the papers, whatever they were, which referred to the earl of Derby, should be used as Mackworth might "see cause, in the trial, and which papers he (the colonel) shall immediately return back to the council, after he has made use of them." [16]

Whilst the earl's life was in jeopardy, his trial just at hand, and his time fully occupied in musing and moralizing on his gloomy prospects, it might have been supposed that the better feelings of humanity would have prevailed even with his enemies, and that the prison hours of a fallen political foe would have been held sacred. But such was not the case. At this critical juncture (27th of September) the authorities at Whitehall permitted two of their needy adherents, Mr. Thomas Wainwright and Mr. John Wickliffe, to intrude upon his privacy and disturb and gall his mind by some of their petty transactions connected with the sequestration of his lordship's estates. They wished to have the defenceless earl examined, "in a case wherein they were con-

portance has been discovered. His namesake was a man of another spirit. (See p. clxiii, note.)

[16] Draft Order Book, 51–3.

cerned," by these sub-commissioners of sequestrations; and colonels Mackworth and Dukinfield were required to afford facilities for the admission into the presence of the state prisoner of these insulting intruders. Two stringent conditions, however, were annexed by the Government: the first, that the examinations should be taken "in the presence and hearing of any two of those commissioners appointed by the commission of the lord-general for the said earl of Derby's trial;" and the second, that "the said examining of him did not cause or occasion, in the least, any delay or retarding of the said trial, but that it be proceeded in according to the order already sent, without any protraction."[17]

From the moment of his surrender his death was determined, and a well informed member of the Bradshaw family, writing on the 29th of September, before the council of war was held, said, with almost incredible effrontery, "Darbie will be tried at Chester, and dye at Bolton."[18] He had been excepted by name on several occasions from all clemency and pardon; but having surrendered and received quarter it was necessary that he should be executed with the parchment forms and solemn mockeries of military law. A commission was quickly sent to Chester to twenty men, being "persons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen,"[19] most of them unfit and all of them incompetent for so important an undertaking. They had been carefully selected from regiments which had been engaged against the earl at

[17] Dom. Interregn., 117, 555. [18] *Harington Papers*, p. 168.
[19] Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 412.

Manchester and Bolton, and it deserves to be noticed that not a single Lancashire man was admitted to be of the council. These officers were sequestrators, parliamentary committee men, and all of them, more or less, notoriously hostile to the earl, and therefore might be relied upon to do the bidding of their employers with almost unanimous submission. The court had no legal jurisdiction, but Cromwell issued an order for it to sit at Chester, and as far as military law was concerned, it was untrammelled. After the court was proclaimed on the 29th of September, colonel Mackworth of Shrewsbury, vice-chamberlain of Chester and the president of the council, ordered the prisoner to be brought to the bar, and he was accordingly guarded from the castle to the court. No fine historical picture can be drawn here. A room in the castle was fitted up for the trial, and the aspect of all around was dreary and plebeian, but in exact accordance with the tone and tendency of the age and the prevailing modes of thought. Never, perhaps, had so great a nobleman been brought before so mean a presence. There was no stately ceremony and no imposing pageant. There were no nobles or knights, and scarcely a well-descended gentleman, present. There were no eminent legal authorities and no distinguished representatives of the house of commons. There was nothing to indicate the rank or order of the prisoner. Those who assembled together were known chiefly for their rancorous hatred of the public cause which he had espoused, and he alone of that great assembly stood forward as a great man. His self-possession

never failed him, and his judgment and temper were equal to the uprightness of his principles, the integrity of his life, and the crisis at which he had arrived. He felt whilst standing in that court that he would ultimately be judged by a better law and by a higher tribunal, and he was willing to submit to the decision of posterity. The president read the act of the 12th of August, and articles of charge, in writing, were exhibited against him, founded on that act. There was no counsel for the prisoner, and on the earl demanding counsel it was debated by the court, in his absence, whether he should be allowed that liberty in open court, and if not whether he might have private counsel to advise him on the grave point of treason. It was positively adjudged by the court, and announced by the president, that he should have no counsel allowed to plead for him publicly. And when the question was put whether he should have liberty of counsel privately or not, it was resolved, in his absence, that if the earl should again make the request, he might be allowed the privilege, but only to have such counsel as the court should appoint, and who should not confer with his lordship on any matters except on the act of the 12th of August. Nor was the privilege which he sought, to be extended to him beyond a few hours, as he was peremptorily required to give his answers to the charge, in open court, by nine o'clock on the following morning.

The earl asked for the legal advice of Mr. Zancthy, a lawyer of Chester, and his request being granted, the clerk of the court was ordered to wait upon the lawyer with a

copy of the articles of impeachment, and to permit him alone to have a sight of them; but to furnish the earl with a printed copy of the Act of the 12th August.[20]

When Mackworth read this act in open court, and came to the clause — "and such as by the said council shall suffer death, shall also forfeit all his and their lands, goods, and other estate, as in case of high treason"—the earl of Derby interrupting him, called out, "I am no traitor, neither——" "Sir," insolently interposed the president, "your words are contemptible. You must be silent during the reading of the Act, and your Charge."[21]

On the next day, the 30th of September, the earl briefly answered the charge, and declared that being in the Isle of Man, he had never even heard of the act of the 12th of August, and that he had never seen it before yesterday.

It was debated by the court what time he should have allowed for speaking, before he should be restrained from pleading for himself; and before his sentence should be considered. And he was required fully to reply to the court on the next morning at nine o'clock.

In the afternoon of this day the court adjourned, as the earl desired to have sir Maurice Enslow and sir Robert Brerewood[22] as his counsel, instead of Mr. Zanchy; but the motion, having afterwards been put, was immediately negatived, the court unanimously refusing to grant the request.

[20] MS. account of the Court-martial.

[21] Somers' *Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 503.

[22] Was sir Robert Brerewood a relation of John Brerewood of Chester, the learned writer?

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